

# Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily

Arabic speakers and the end of Islam

Alex Metcalfe



## MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS IN NORMAN SICILY

The social, religious and linguistic history of medieval Sicily is both intriguing and complex. For several centuries prior to the Muslim invasion of 827, the Christian islanders had spoken dialects of either Latin or Greek. On the arrival of the 'Normans' around 1060, Arabic was the dominant language and Islam the dominant religion, but by 1250 Sicily was again almost exclusively Christian with the Romance dialects of more recent settlers in evidence everywhere. Of particular importance was the formative period of Norman control (1061–1194), when most of the key transitions from an Arabic-speaking Muslim island to a 'Latin'-speaking Christian one were made. This work sets out the evidence for those fundamental shifts and provides an authoritative framework for establishing the conventional thinking on the subject.

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*Alex Metcalfe*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Alexander of Telese</i>	De Nava, L., <i>Alexandrini Telesini Abbatis Ystoria Rogerii Regis Siciliae, Calabriae atque Apuliae</i> , Rome, 1991.
Amari	Amari, M., <i>Biblioteca arabo-sicula</i> , 2 vols, Turin, 1880.
Amari, SMS	Amari, M., <i>Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia</i> , vols I–III, ed. and rev. by C. A. Nallino, Catania, 1933–9.
<i>Amatus</i>	de Bartolomaeis, V., <i>Storia dei Normanni di Amati di Montecassino</i> , Rome, 1935.
BAS (Arabic version)	Amari, M. (1988) <i>Biblioteca arabo-sicula</i> , 2nd ed. rev. by U. Rizzitano, vols I–II, <i>Accademia Nazionale di Scienze Lettere e Arti</i> , Palermo.
<i>Catana Sacra</i>	De Grossis, G. B., <i>Catana Sacra</i> , Catania, 1654.
Collura, Agrigento	Collura, P., <i>Le più antiche carte dell'archivio capitolare di Agrigento (1092–1282)</i> , (Documenti per servire all storia di Sicilia, Ser. I. XXV), Palermo, 1960.
<i>Constantiae Imperatricis Diplomata</i>	Kölzer, T., <i>Diplomata Constantiae Imperatricis et Reginae Siciliae (1195–8)</i> , Cologne and Vienna, 1983.
Cusa	Cusa, S., <i>I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia, pubblicati nel testo originale, tradotti ed illustrati</i> , Palermo, 1868–82, reprinted Köln, Wien, 1982.
<i>Documenti inediti</i>	Garufi, C. A., <i>I documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna in Sicilia</i> , (Documenti per servire la storia di Sicilia, Ser. I. XIII), Palermo, 1899.
EI <sup>2</sup>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 10 vols, 2nd ed. Leiden, from 1954.
<i>Falcandus</i>	Siragusa, G. B., <i>Liber de Regno Sicilie e la Epistola ad Petrum panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium</i> , (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 22) Istituto per il Medio Evo, Roma, 1897.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Guillou, *Les actes grecs* Guillou, A., *Les actes grecs de S. Maria di Messina*, Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, 8, Palermo, 1963.
- Ibn Ġubayr* *Riḥlat Ibn Ġubayr*, Arabic ed pub. by Dār al-Šādir, Beirut, 1964.
- Ibn Ḥawqal* Kramers, J. H., *Kitāb šurat al-arḍ (Ibn Ḥawqal)*, Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayat, Beirut, 1979.
- Ibn Qalāqis* De Simone, A., *Splendori e Misteri di Sicilia in un'opera di Ibn Qalāqis* Messina, 1996.
- Italia Pontificia* *Italia Pontificia*, ed. P. F. Kehr, 10 vols, Berlin 1905–74; vol. X ed. D. Girgensohn, 1974.
- La Théotokos da Hagia Agathè* Guillou, A., *La Théotokos de Hagia Agathè (Op-pido), (1050–1064/1065)*, Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du sud et de Sicile 3, Vatican City, 1972.
- Malaterra* Pontieri, E., *De Rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis auctore Gaufrido Malaterra*, (Fonti per la storia d'Italia), Bologna, 1927–8.
- MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.
- Peter of Blois* Migne, J. P., *Epistolae of Peter of Blois in Patrologia Latina*, 221 vols. Paris, 1844–64.
- Peter of Eboli* Kölzer, T. and Stähli, M., *Liber ad honorem Augusti sive de rebus Siculis (Peter of Eboli)*, Codex 120 II der Burgerbibliothek Bern, Sigmaringen, 1994.
- Pirro* Pirro, R., *Sicilia sacra disquisitionibus et notitiis illustrata*, 2nd ed, rev. Antonio Mongitore and Vito M. Amico. 2 vols, Palermo, 1733.
- Roger II Diplomata* Brühl, C.-R., *Rogerii II Regis Diplomata Latina. (Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae; first series, Diplomata regum et principum e gente Norman-norum, vol. II, part I.)* Cologne and Vienna, 1987.
- Rollus Rubeus* Mirto, C., *Rollus Rubeus Priviligia ecclesiae Cephaleditane*, Palermo, 1972.
- Romuald* Garufi, C. A., *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, (Rerum Italicarum Scriptorum, 2nd series, 8.), Città di Castello, 1935.
- Spata* Spata, G., *Le pergamene greche esistenti nel Grande Archivio di Palermo*, Palermo, 1862.
- Trincherà* Trincherà, F., *Syllabus Graecarum Membranarum*. Naples, 1865.
- William I Diplomata* Enzensberger, H., *Guillelmi I Regis Diplomata. (Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae, first series, Diplomata regum et principum e gente Norman-norum, vol. III)*, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 1996.

## ABBREVIATIONS

*William of Apulia*      Mathieu, M., *Guillaume de Pouille, La Geste de Robert Guiscard*, Istituto Siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici, 4, Palermo, 1961.

### Other abbreviations

*	reconstructed form
?	of doubtful or hypothetical value
<	derived from
=	meaning
>	becomes
ADM	Archivo de la Casa Ducale de Medinaceli in Seville
Ar.	Arabic
<i>c.</i>	<i>circa</i>
cf.	compare
epith.	epithet
Gk.	Greek
IGM	Istituto Geografico Militare, Carta d'Italia, 1:25,000
Lat.	Latin
n	note
p.n.	personal name
PAS	Palermo, Archivio di Stato

## TRANSLITERATION SCHEMES

### Arabic:

ا	<i>alif</i>	ā
ب	<i>bāʾ</i>	b
ت	<i>tāʾ</i>	t
ث	<i>ṯāʾ</i>	ṯ
ج	<i>ǧīm</i>	ǧ
ح	<i>ḥāʾ</i>	ḥ
خ	<i>khāʾ</i>	kh
د	<i>dāl</i>	d
ذ	<i>ḏāl</i>	ḏ
ر	<i>rāʾ</i>	r

ز	<i>zāy</i>	z
س	<i>sīn</i>	s
ش	<i>šīn</i>	š
ص	<i>ṣād</i>	ṣ
ض	<i>ḏād</i>	ḏ
ط	<i>ṭāʾ</i>	ṭ
ظ	<i>ẓāʾ</i>	ẓ
ع	<i>ʿayn</i>	ʿ
غ	<i>ǧayn</i>	ǧ
ف	<i>fāʾ</i>	f

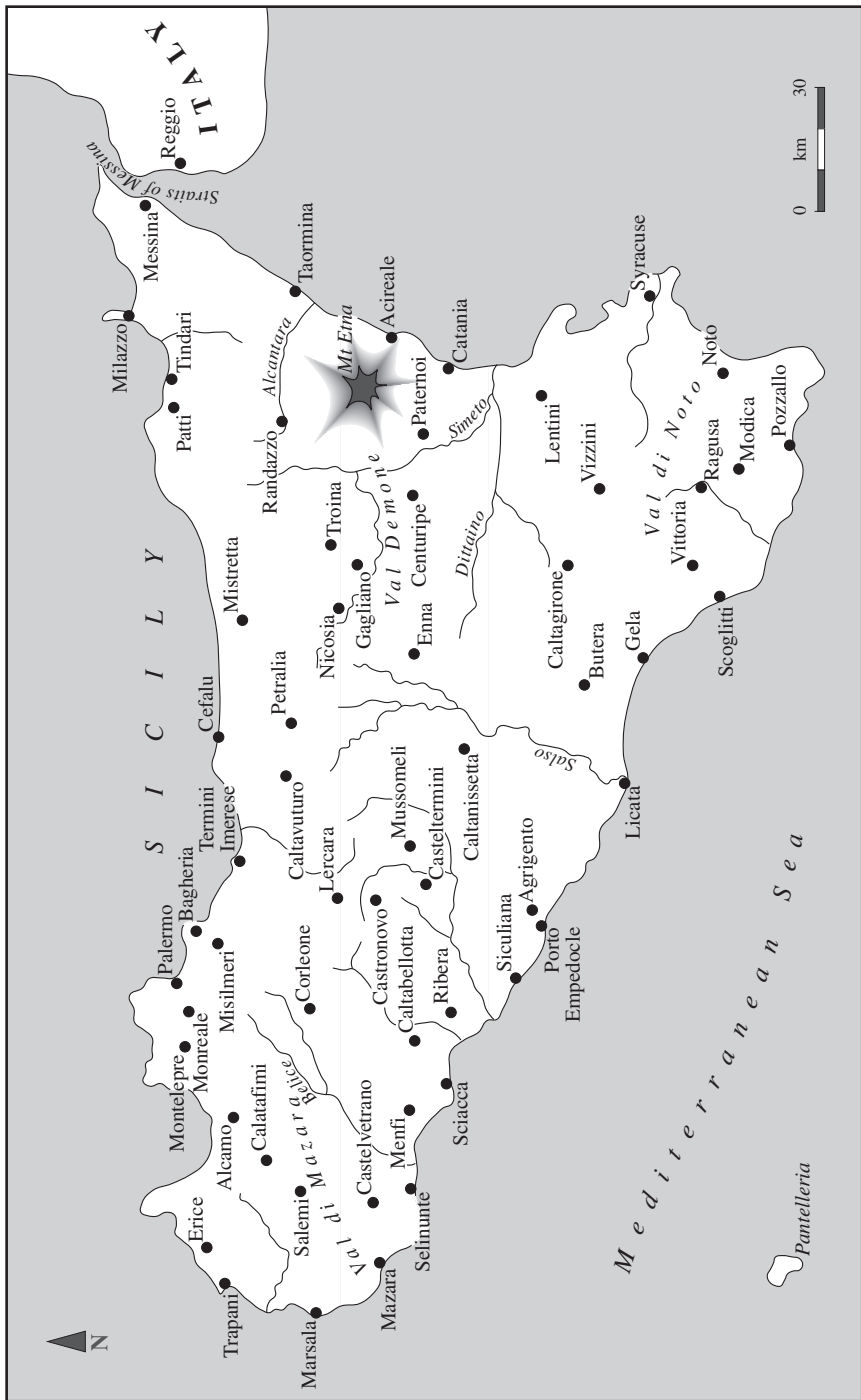
ق	<i>qāf</i>	q
ك	<i>kāf</i>	k
ل	<i>lam</i>	l
م	<i>mīm</i>	m
ن	<i>nūn</i>	n
ه	<i>hāʾ</i>	h
و	<i>wāw</i>	w/ū
ي	<i>yāʾ</i>	y/ī
ء	<i>hamza</i>	ʾ

### Greek:

α	<i>alpha</i>	a
β	<i>beta</i>	b
γ	<i>gamma</i>	g/y
δ	<i>delta</i>	d
ε	<i>epsilon</i>	e
ζ	<i>zeta</i>	z
η	<i>eta</i>	i
θ	<i>theta</i>	th

ι	<i>iota</i>	i
κ	<i>kappa</i>	k
λ	<i>lambda</i>	l
μ	<i>mu</i>	m
ν	<i>nu</i>	n
ξ	<i>xi</i>	x
ο	<i>omicron</i>	o
π	<i>pi</i>	p

ρ	<i>rho</i>	r
σ	<i>sigma</i>	s
τ	<i>tau</i>	t
υ	<i>upsilon</i>	y
φ	<i>phi</i>	f
χ	<i>chi</i>	ch
ψ	<i>psi</i>	ps
ω	<i>omega</i>	o



Map of Sicily

# INTRODUCTION

From the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, the island of Sicily was subject to two distinct linguistic shifts that were roughly concurrent with demographic, social, administrative and religious changes to the island. The first transition followed the Muslim invasion of 827, when the islanders are thought to have spoken mainly Greek or Italo-Greek dialects. By around the end of the tenth century, the standard view is that Sicily was an essentially Arabic-speaking Muslim island with the exception of the north-eastern Val Demone, closest to mainland Italy, where dialects of the pre-Muslim era persisted amongst the remaining Christians who lived there. The second major social and linguistic shift was relatively swift, but irreversible. Within 250 years of the arrival of Norman-led Christian forces in 1061, the transition from an Arabic-speaking Muslim island to an essentially 'Latin'-speaking Christian one was all but complete. However, accounting for this transition remains one of the key issues of the twelfth century in Sicily.

There can be no doubt as to the importance of language and religion to the history of the Norman period in Sicily. Indeed, there is no major work on the history of the island that does not address these issues at some point. That said, none tackles these fundamental questions directly. Nor, for that matter, can there be any doubt that their interpretation is contingent on our understanding of the history which underpins it. This volume deals with both these fields and makes no apologies for ultimately involving historians with what some may have previously regarded as the preserve of Arabists and vice versa. Thus, the work comprises of two overlapping and interdependent strands, one socio-historical and the other linguistic.

Although the kingdom of Sicily at its brief and spectacular height extended to the mainland peninsula of Italy and as far as North Africa, this research concentrates on the Arabic-speaking communities, in particular the Muslims, found in insular Sicily, between *c.*1090 and *c.*1190, but particularly after 1130. The earlier sections deal with the background issues in the lead-up to the 'Norman' conquest of 1061, as well as the questions that concern the status of the Muslim communities, including the key issue



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of how changes to the religious and demographic base of the island affected the social and linguistic composition of its population, and how widely known or used Arabic was among the ruling elite, the Sicilian kings and their administrative staff. This leads into an assessment of the changing fate of Arabic as an instrument of the fiscal administration and thus provides an introduction to the case study of the boundary definitions produced in the royal chancery that were issued to the newly-founded church of Monreale. In particular, this deals with the production of chancery registers of villeins written in Arabic and Greek or Arabic and Latin and the complex questions that arise from these.

As far as the linguistic evidence is concerned, a range of source material is available although not all provides the same quality or type of evidence. Unlike medieval Spain, no Sicilian Arabic poetry composed in the vernacular has survived and the few remaining literary works are all written in higher registers and/or strictly stylized forms. Some significant works survive as do several fragmentary pieces, but none yields anything of dialect forms. Furthermore, many twelfth-century ‘Sicilian’ authors who wrote in Arabic actually hailed from Ifrīqiya, Spain or Egypt. Other written media include a number of inscriptions in Arabic, but these are few, short and almost all were based on models of a high Arabic register. However, historians and linguists have inherited a unique and valuable legacy from the Norman period. After a prolonged period of piecemeal conquest (c.1060–c.92), the new Christian rulers began to issue registers of lands and men that were conceded to landlords. Many of these and later registers were bilingual (Arabic-Greek or Arabic-Latin) as were almost all of the villein registers issued by the royal Norman chancery after c.1140 which yield almost 6,000 names. While these sources have been known to researchers for some time, they have received only sporadic and limited academic attention. Of exceptional historical importance, the registers offer explicit evidence for the ways in which the ‘Normans’ came to impose an essentially ‘feudal’ system over a largely Muslim population. In addition, the names of thousands of villeins recorded in Arabic and Greek suggest professions, place names, tribal names and religious persuasion. Some names are a peculiar combination of Arabic and Greek/Latin elements and appear to indicate the ever-frayed edges of Sicilian society. Administratively, the registers show the extent to which the royal fiscal administration had modelled itself on the practices of contemporary Arab-Islamic chanceries, particularly those of Fatimid Egypt. The extensive boundary definitions, especially those of Monreale, cover most of western Sicily and are a fundamental source for reconstructing the toponymy of these areas which were in the most dense zone of Sicilian Muslim settlement and which today remain some of the more interesting areas of the island, not least in social and political terms. From a linguistic perspective, as these registers of villeins were transcribed from Arabic (consonants only) into Greek (with

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full vocalization) they even offer the rare possibility of inferring and recovering traces of a dialect used over 700 years ago. Besides this, the presence of many loan words, interferences and loan translations holds the key to understanding the complex relationships between the island's languages as well as offering fascinating insights into the formation of more modern dialects in Sicily. In addition to the bilingual registers, there were many privately-issued documents that deal mainly with sales, purchases, legal agreements, inquests, donations, foundations and claims. Of these, few were ever written in more than one language and none among them can match the size and relative consistency of the chancery documents. Very few of these have been well-edited, although they are now in the process of being properly produced in a new series with accompanying English translations and historical commentaries. Although references are made to the private and to non-fiscal chancery documents, it is the various discussions and analyses of the bilingual registers that form a central part of this volume.

As this book was going to press, another was about to be published which has an important bearing on this work. The volume in question is the long-awaited work by Jeremy Johns entitled *The Royal Dīwān: Arabic Administration and Norman Kingship in Sicily*. Although I have not had time to consult this significant work, as co-supervisor for my doctoral thesis, I have had numerous opportunities to consult the author personally and have had access to an early version of the text. Dr Johns has also read a prototype of this book and made many suggestions for which I am extremely grateful. At the time of writing, however, I hope to be able to indicate the many relevant sections in his forthcoming work, which will not only be of benefit to the reader, but also enhance the usefulness of this present volume. Rather like the old joke about waiting for a bus which does not come, then two arrive at once, the year 2003 will see two monographs in English which directly concern the social and administrative history of the island, in particular, the impact and decline of its Arab-Muslim population.

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# SICILY BEFORE 1100

## Popular perceptions and issues

Given the confusion and divisions that have distinguished southern Italian society and politics for much of the modern period, one might wonder how such a situation could ever have come about in one of the leading nations of Europe. Arguably the least dispassionate subject of all popular debate in Italy is the *questione meridionale* or 'southern question'. The broader discussion areas which underpin this, such as the economy, political reform, social justice and so on would be on the agenda in most other modern European countries. But in the context of southern Italy, these questions are coloured by perceptions of a deep north–south divide, criminality, corruption, regional autonomy, bureaucratic confusion, political extremism and judicial chaos. Related as many of these points may be, the complex arguments that surround them are often articulated from an accusatory perspective and rely on negatively stereotypical views, not all of which are uninformative. Indeed, even debates about the advantages and disadvantages of car licence plates which reveal the area from where it was registered, or which region has the best food and football team, or the pride taken in the incomprehensibility of one's own dialect can almost be considered as interrelated issues and reveal layer upon layer of fragmented allegiances, indeterminable local boundary lines and ancient prejudices that lend a parochial touch to many such issues, including those of provincial, national and even international importance.<sup>1</sup> On occasions, opposing views do find common ground, but where the ability to block is almost as important as the mandate to govern, genuine change – to date – has been rare. Among potential remedies, time and again the idea that desperate situations require desperate measures resurfaces. Otherwise, the option to put one's trust in a more 'remote' control has been a perennial favourite, both for those who see the opportunities this affords local powers and for those who have little faith in them. But while much of the society appears to yearn for change of some sort, in other respects it remains profoundly conservative, resistant

to reform and tied to its variously perceived traditional values. Of the peculiar difficulties of reform in Sicily, the aristocrat Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa claimed that it is

like firing into cotton wool; the little hole made at that moment is covered after a few seconds by thousands of tiny fibres and all remain as before, the only additions being the cost of the powder, ridicule at useless effort and deterioration of material.<sup>2</sup>

Tomasi was speaking of post-*Risorgimento* Sicily from the perspective of the post-war era, but his point remains pertinent in spite of the changes that had occurred even before the depressing *National Geographic* article from 1976 entitled ‘Sicily, Where All The Songs Are Sad’.<sup>3</sup> The opening photograph shows a singer in a crowded market place lamenting the death of a donkey which now keeps his peasant owner from his only source of income. We then learn that ‘today’s Sicily with its abandoned farms, depopulated villages and chronic unemployment is consistent with its melancholic past’. But one wonders whether the situation in the mid-1970s could ever have been as bad as western Sicily in the mid-thirteenth century and to which scenario this quote more aptly applies? As for the medieval period in Sicily, it can hardly be said that this is the usual starting point for popular discussion of the southern question. Nonetheless, it is remarkable how many debates delve into age-old concepts, events and their consequences and it is striking how much more relevant the twelfth century is perceived to be to modern Sicily than the same period is to virtually anywhere else in the rest of modern Europe. Indeed, whatever one’s views, few would disagree that, of the Middle Ages, the Norman and Swabian periods were of the most fundamental importance to the development of the society, economics, religion, politics and dialects of the southern Italian peninsula.

Research into the high Middle Ages is rarely straightforward, especially in southern Italy, and in his introduction to ‘The Norman Kingdom of Sicily’, Donald Matthew elicited a few of the seemingly endless obstacles that stand between the student and the history of Sicily for that period. These mainly concern the problems that arise from source material written in Latin, Greek and Arabic, much of which has not been properly edited and some of which still cannot be consulted at all, even in the twenty-first century. Besides this, there exists only a relatively small body of secondary literature, not all of which is reliable and of which only a small fraction is in English. This volume attempts to fill that void, at least in part, with an introduction to the language and society of Sicily from c.1050–c.1250 with particular reference to its Arabic speakers and the fate of Islam in the southern Italian peninsula, and is aimed at a range of readers from a range of disciplines.

There is much to be said for beginning an account of the history of language and society of the Norman period as far back as ancient Antiquity, if for no other reason than to show how Sicily lay between the orbits of North Africa and the powers of the Italian mainland and was the subject of repeated invasion and settlement from both these power-bases. Thus, the Arab-Muslims' conflict with the Normans could be regarded, albeit in a somewhat abstract way, as the last great cultural collision of its type, preceded by the Muslims and the Byzantine Greeks; the Vandals and Byzantines; the Carthaginians and Romans and, in early Classical times, the Phoenicians and Greeks. Although the 'Norman' conquest of the late eleventh century cannot be said to have given rise to permanent political or socio-economic stability for the island, it irreversibly set Sicily under the sway of powers not from North Africa but from mainland Europe, under whose influence it has remained for the past 1,000 years. Indeed, outlining these transitions is one of the principal aims of this opening chapter for which considerations focus on changes to the religious and demographic base of the island, above all in the tenth and eleventh centuries, although some general indications of the underlying social and linguistic situation can be recovered from much earlier periods with regard to regions both within and around Sicily. However, compressing the best part of 2,000 years of history into a single chapter naturally comes at the expense of detail. As such, this opening chapter necessarily remains a selective account and should not be read as exhaustive, with the examples cited intended as either illustrative or, in some cases, significant as exceptional.

### Early invasions and settlement

As mentioned, the geographical location of Sicily, poised between the Italian peninsula and North Africa, contributed significantly towards the social and linguistic circumstances of the island in the ancient and medieval periods. Much of its early history in Antiquity saw migrant waves of Greeks, Carthaginians and Romans ebb and flow over its shores. It is not a matter of controversy that these changing social, administrative and demographic influences were reflected by a characteristic multilingual base of the island. However, evidence suggests that the population was neither entirely transformed nor transposed with each successive invading wave or change of administration.

Colonization is attested from the mid-eighth century BCE, as settlers and traders in Sicily began to arrive from the eastern Mediterranean and North Africa. Initially, the very early Greek colonists tended to settle in the eastern parts of the island, while communities of North African origin mainly arrived and stayed in the west.<sup>4</sup> According to Thucydides, Sicily was inhabited by two rival peoples – the Sicanians and the Sicels.<sup>5</sup> He related

that the former were war-like, of Iberian extraction, and lived in the western parts, even in his day. The Sicels, on the other hand, had crossed over from the Italian mainland and had occupied the north, central and eastern parts. In addition, there were the Elymi, whose cities were originally Eryx (Erice) and Segesta and who were said to be descendants from refugees after the fall of Troy. Archaeological finds would suggest a slightly wider distribution of 'Elymi' to the hinterland south and south-west of these towns.<sup>6</sup> These peoples, Thucydides claimed, were in addition to, and distinct from, the Phoenicians and Greeks, and could be described as 'non-Hellenic', yet the differences between them remain largely unknown to us. On the other hand, the city-based, political dynamics of the island appear to have transcended most cultural ties or tribal allegiances, particularly after the battle of Himera in 480, which saw the defeat of 'Carthaginian' elements and the subsequent political ascendancy of Syracuse under a series of 'tyrants'. In spite of a number of minor civil wars, the considerable degree of intercultural exchange between different social and linguistic groups appears to have continued, and an unusual inscription in a north African dialect carved in a mix of Greek with some Libyan letters dating from the fourth century BCE from the island's western interior testifies to a blend of languages and cultures.<sup>7</sup> Siculo-Phoenician influence appears to have remained marginally more concentrated in the west of the island, particularly around the city of Lilybaeum (modern Marsala), founded by Carthaginian settlers at the beginning of the fourth century. There is some evidence to suggest that Neo-Punic had a long spoken history, especially in the remoter western parts, and a short Neo-Punic inscription from the second century BCE on the outlying island of Favignara implies it was still spoken there around that time.<sup>8</sup> However, no Neo-Punic inscription post-dates the first century BCE and only traces of such influence on Sicilian culture, language, toponomy or religion otherwise survive, relative to the vast body of evidence for the impact of Greco-Roman culture.<sup>9</sup> The Greco-Punic cult of Astarte-Aphrodite at Eryx (Erice) is an exceptional example for the fact that it continued into the early part of the first century CE.<sup>10</sup> This stands in contrast to North Africa where Neo-Punic inscriptions continued long after the fall of Carthage in 146 BCE, as did the religious cults of Baal and Ceres which were incorporated into the wider Roman pantheon.<sup>11</sup> Of the numerous groups that may be discerned to varying extents within the broader spectrum of classical Sicilian society, the Jewish communities were notable for having survived into the medieval period with their religious identity largely intact. Although affected greatly by immigration, they would remain in Sicily until their expulsion at the end of the fifteenth century. Indeed, a small, but important, number of early inscriptions of theirs in Greek and Latin survive from Antiquity, as well as a larger corpus from the Middle Ages.<sup>12</sup>

### Romanization and the ‘Siculi trilingues’

Although Sicily had become a Roman province as early as 227 BCE, western Greek dialects are believed to have retained their status as the island’s main spoken medium. Only after the granting of Latin rights early in the first century CE and later in the third, are Latin dialects thought to have become increasingly prominent as a language of the ruling elite. Given the prestigious status of Latin as an administrative language and the cultural standing of Greek in the eyes of educated Romans, it is thought that Latin-Greek bilingualism was necessary for social and political advancement in Roman Sicily.<sup>13</sup> Even so, Cicero claimed that Sicily was no place for the educated to improve their classical languages, claiming, ‘*si litteras Graecas Athenis non Lilybaei, Latinas Romae non in Sicilia didicisses*’.<sup>14</sup> The contrast of Athens and Lilybaeum in particular as the best and worst places to learn Greek faintly suggests that the west of the island was still perceived to have been less Greek in character than the east. In contrast, Moses Finley remarked that, at the end of the Roman Republic, ‘the linguistic dividing line has to be drawn between social classes, not geographically. The bulk of the population remained Greek-speaking, while the administrative and educated classes were Latin-speaking, or, more correctly, bilingual’.<sup>15</sup> While the general truth of this conclusion is not in question, levels of bilingualism have proved notoriously difficult to gauge as has the issue of whether a comparison of relative numbers of inscriptions genuinely reveals language differences according to area. Nonetheless, most scholars now accept that bilingualism was common and there are many signs of merger at both linguistic and social levels. Indeed, this is hardly a controversial conclusion and perfectly consistent with the long history of social and cultural assimilation that was a characteristic of early Sicilian society. More than two centuries after Cicero, Apuleius could speak of the *Siculi trilingues* by which he presumably meant that there were still three linguistic communities in Sicily, namely Latin, Greek and Punic, rather than that all Sicilians were trilingual.<sup>16</sup> As Apuleius was from North Africa and even described himself, perhaps tautologically to Roman ears, as ‘half Numidian, half Gaetulian’, he qualifies as a well-informed contemporary commentator.<sup>17</sup> The classical reference to ‘three-tongued Sicilians’ is also significant in that it was picked up again in twelfth-century Latin sources.

The questions of social integration and signs of bilingualism are relevant for the corresponding debates in the medieval period in two ways. First, they offer evidence for Sicily’s long history of mixed languages and cultures. Second and more specifically, is that much of the onomastic and linguistic evidence offered in the Classical periods is similar to that provided by more copious sources in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Illustrative examples that imply cultural and linguistic intermingling in Antiquity include the use of paired inscriptions, code-switching between Latin and Greek scripts,



personal names that were half-Greek, half-Roman, and orthographic errors that show interference from one language to the other. Thus, we find Greek inscriptions to Artemis and Aphrodite matched by Latin ones to Diana and Venus. From Marsala, a brick found in an otherwise fourth-century wall reads: *M. ABIETIS* [and] *N. CEKONΔOY*. Here, the first element is a Latin transliteration of a Greek name. The second is the Greek transliteration (with a Greek inflection) of the Latin *secundus*.<sup>18</sup> Even if this is a linguistic joke, could it be funny if one did not understand both parts? Less droll, but more enlightening, is the case of a certain Claudius Theseus, whose own name was half-Latin and half-Greek, and who had a son and wife whose tombstones were in Latin, but whose daughter and other son were commemorated in Greek.<sup>19</sup> Finally in this brief but illustrative appraisal, the Latin of a bilingual workshop notice featured curious interferences that suggest Greek influence such as ‘*qum*’ (*sic* for ‘*cum*’) taking the genitive, not the ablative case.<sup>20</sup> As the inscription was intended to advertise the carver’s ability to create signs in both languages, these errors appear to have been inspired less by comedy than incompetence.

A remarkable feature of the Sicilian interior, especially in the western zones, is the lack of inscriptions of any type relative to others areas in the Italian peninsula. Even had there been more, comparison of the numbers of inscriptions from different periods may not disclose the conclusions that some had once hoped they might, although this discussion is still very much alive. The main area of contention lies in problems of interpretation that inevitably raise claims of unfair comparison. Roman inscriptions were often of a public nature and come mainly from the imperial period, whereas Greek inscriptions tended to be private and are frequently difficult to date. Consequently, although many questions remain open, cautious assessments give only general indications of contrast. Thus, broadly speaking, the evidence from inscription counts points to the urban centres of the south-east as being predominantly Greek; more of a Greek-Latin balance is evident in the north-east whereas romanization appears more strongly in the western cities. If such cases are to count as valid evidence, then the cautious inference would be that geographical variations in the wider language situation may, to a largely unknown extent, have appeared alongside social ones.

Of significance for the later periods are geographical differences within which there appear to have been urban/rural contrasts of varying degrees. Evidence for the language situation in rural parts is especially unclear due to the paucity of evidence. The conspicuous and wealthy remains of Roman influence in rural Sicily has today left us with valuable records of art and culture, but as the villas left behind belonged to old aristocratic senatorial families, they were numerically few and are hardly representative of the wider population. Rural parts were naturally more conservative and so it is

thought unlikely that Greek roots, laid down over several hundred years, could have ever been entirely supplanted by the influence of Latin settlement. This, apparently safe, conclusion has been undermined by an inscription that recorded the death of a certain 'Zoe'.<sup>21</sup> The tombstone was found at Cozzo Cicirello, near Gela in the south-eastern corner of Sicily, which is presumed to have been in the heart of Greek-speaking settlements, and in an area where other extant tombstones are Greek. Dated to the mid-sixth century, it records Zoe's death in colloquial language. The colloquialisms it contains are of minor relevance. Crucially however, the inscription was made in Latin, not Greek. Although acknowledged as exceptional, its very existence throws open the question of how extensive rural Latin and Greek, or indeed, Italo-Greek settlement and linguistic influence was in the late Roman period.

### The situation at the end of the Byzantine period

Neither the Ostrogoths nor the Vandals who, from around 438, began to launch attacks from North Africa, appear to have made any lasting impression on the language or society of the island. Procopius spoke of widespread destruction and archaeological evidence suggests that Marsala and Agrigento, which were probably already in decline, were indeed badly damaged.<sup>22</sup> Other towns of importance, notably Catania, Syracuse and Palermo appear to have been considerably less pounded and were quickly rebuilt.<sup>23</sup> Within two years, Justinian's general, Belesarius, had undermined Ostrogoth control over territories in Africa and Sicily and in December 535, his army entered Syracuse. The Byzantine period (535–827) would see the return to prominence of Greek as an administrative language in the southern Italian peninsula, which was still known as *Magna Graecia*. Although Sicily had been readmitted to the 'Roman' world, albeit as a province of the Byzantine empire, social and linguistic change from the preceding periods are thought to have occurred at a leisurely pace, and it is unlikely that the island's population was ever uniform due to the continued immigration from various parts of the Mediterranean.<sup>24</sup> In particular, the ports are likely to have had a continual influx and settlement, both temporary and permanent, of sailors, officials and merchants, evidence for which can sometimes be found among the letters of Gregory the Great (590–604), an indispensable source for this period, particularly for the management of church properties on the island.<sup>25</sup>

A debate that still provokes a range of responses is the extent to which social and linguistic integration had taken place between different groups during the Imperial and Byzantine periods. Biagio Pace's idea that Latin was predominant as the island's spoken language, whereas Greek was used in funerary inscriptions for conservative religious reasons, has not found widespread support.<sup>26</sup> However, his general conclusion regarding the

ascendancy of Latin until a late revival of Byzantine Greek by the mid-eighth century is more widely held.<sup>27</sup> As we shall see, strengthening of Greek Byzantine character is likely to have occurred from the mid-seventh century when Sicily became a military *thema* and also witnessed an influx of refugees from North Africa. Immigration from the Byzantine west, ahead of the Muslim advance; refugees persecuted as a result of the Iconoclasm debate and later strategic resettlement may have significantly modified the ethnic and linguistic base of the island while strengthening its Byzantine Greek identity. Indeed, this was further boosted by influxes into Sicily from the Byzantine west of officials, merchants, churchmen and soldiers even during Islamic campaigns of the ninth century.<sup>28</sup> Although it is now quite widely accepted that some form of Greek was prevalent on the island by the end of the Byzantine period, there are inherent dangers of overworking such a conclusion derived from a very limited source of available evidence, which is itself open to more than one interpretation. On this caveat, Alberto Várvaro's careful conclusion was that 'academics profess to know more [about the language situation at the end of the Byzantine period] than might be possible'.<sup>29</sup>

### The Islamic period (827–1061)

Lengthy and still useful as Michele Amari's monumental work, the *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* remains, a thoroughly revised history of the Islamic period in Sicily has yet to be written. However, it is not my intention here to do any more than provide a chronological framework that incorporates the main social, religious and linguistic changes that the island underwent during that period.

Characteristic of the early social and linguistic history of Sicily is the consistent tendency to produce a number of cases that apparently show the assimilation, imperfect or otherwise, of two or more linguistic or social communities. In both the Imperial Roman and early Byzantine periods, we have seen how doubts remain over the relative strengths of Latin, Greek and Italo-Greek dialects in Sicily. However, by the end of the Byzantine period, there is now less doubt that the islanders spoke dialects of either Greek or Italo-Greek on the eve of the Muslim invasion of 827. On the other hand, while developments in the late classical and Byzantine periods had been characteristically slow, the Muslim invasion introduced dynamic new relationships into Sicily. These would cause fundamental but temporary shifts in the social, religious, political, administrative and linguistic base of the island. The significance of this debate lies in the way it informs considerations that concern changes to the socio-religious and linguistic base of the island in the better-documented Norman and Swabian periods.

From the middle of the seventh century, Sicily was subject to a series of raids from Muslim-held territories. These early attacks, although sporadic and inspired by piratical as opposed to colonizing motives, quickly persuaded the contracting Byzantine empire to reshape its military policies and ambitions in the western Mediterranean. Unfortunately, events that took place in Sicily from the ninth to the eleventh centuries are not well documented, even by comparison to other areas of Europe around the same time. Of Greek sources, several saints' lives have survived, which we will examine shortly. Prominent among Muslim authors are annalistic universal histories, all of which drew on and repeated to varying degrees existing material in Arabic. For the history of Sicily, we are dependent on only a handful of works, including the *Cambridge Chronicle* composed from the perspective of a Sicilian Christian.<sup>30</sup> Above all, we rely on Ibn al-Aṭīr's (1160–1233) *al-Kāmil fī l-Tawārīkh*, which covers events from the beginning of the world to the Islamic year 628, which equates to 1231 CE. Although one of the earliest and more reliable sources, he was remote in both time and space from Islamic Sicily. Apart from the occasional anachronism and an ironic literary touch, he concentrates on an event-based history that often cites economic reasons for action, which lend this vast work a rationale that many modern readers have found credible. Much of the section about Sicily and North Africa is thought to have drawn on a now-lost history apparently called the *Kitāb al-Ġam' wa-l-Bayān fī Akhbār al-Maġrib wa-l-Qayrawān* by the Zirid prince Ibn Ṣaddād, who visited Sicily in the time of King William I.<sup>31</sup> Even if Ibn Ṣaddād's work included a redaction of earlier histories, it most probably served as the main source for later authors. Thus, in the Muslim west, the history of Ibn 'Idārī and the *riḥla* or travelogue of al-Tiġānī appear to derive from a single, well-informed source, as do those of al-Nuwayrī and Abū l-Fidā' in the east. Ultimately, all these can be shown to have contributed to the *Kitāb al-'Ibar* of Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>32</sup> The medieval Muslim sources tended to view the 'Frankish' invasion of Sicily, the 'Reconquest' of Spain and the Crusades as part of a wider southern expansion of Christian forces.<sup>33</sup> Modern thought usually separates these, regarding them as an associated series of events. Similarly, the Muslim invasion of Sicily in 827 is sometimes understood in western thought as a general extension of wider Muslim colonizing activities around the Mediterranean that had begun in the mid-seventh century. For example, in 635, Damascus was taken by the Muslims; in 638 Jerusalem fell, then Cairo in 641. The earliest raids on Sicily are attested from the mid-seventh century, and in 711 'Berber' armies under Arab-Muslim leadership reached Spain; 827 saw the main invasion of Sicily and so on. However, different participants, regional geography, a range of motives for action, varied degrees of successes, chronological disparities and different eventual outcomes suggest that these offshoots are perhaps better considered on their own merits, rather than as simply stemming from a single movement of expansion.

### The Sicilian *'thema'* and responses to raids

A constant feature of the early Muslim raids on Sicily, frequently reported in both Arabic and Greek sources, was the capture of prisoners and their transportation back to North Africa. As the general population of Sicily braced itself for the next raiding season, it is possible that there was some demographic contraction to the safety of the larger towns and if so, then correspondingly, agriculture may have suffered in the exposed rural areas. Towards the end of the seventh century, the military and administrative base of the island underwent a modification as Sicily became a Byzantine *'thema'* or military province. The period 753–800 witnessed a lull in Muslim raids on Sicily, which coincided with political unrest in North Africa and, during this time, the islanders began to strengthen the existing fortifications of the island. For the years 752–3, Ibn al-Aṭīr recorded how 'they [*al-Rūm*] made Sicily secure, reconstructed it (*'amara-hā*) everywhere and rebuilt (*'ammara*) the castles and fortifications'.<sup>34</sup> These accounts are supported by archaeological evidence, for at Selinunte, over the bases of two temples are signs that a *castrum* similar in design to North African Byzantine camps had been hurriedly erected. At Castronuovo, walls had been put up that were two kilometres in length, and at Mola near Taormina, a Greek epigraph records the construction of a castle built when Constantine was *'strategos* and patrician' of Sicily. The fact that the Byzantines showed every intention of defending the island increased the likelihood that less of its inhabitants would abandon it during the conquest period. Some areas, such as towns to the west of the island may have received less defensive attention than the better-fortified towns of the east. Thus, while Agrigento was progressively abandoned with areas around the acropolis being fortified, at Syracuse, the population retracted to easily defensible Ortygia island. Such attempts at fortification without doubt made the task of conquest even more of a lengthy and complex undertaking. Not only did the will to defend Sicily turn it into a Muslim–Christian border zone generally, but some of the ancient east–west frontiers within the island were reproduced when the colonization began. Although population movements towards the increasingly-fortified urban centres may have come at the expense of the island's rural economy, they were also likely to have concentrated and further strengthened its Byzantine Greek character.

In North Africa in the year 800, independent rule was effectively devolved from Harūn al-Rašīd in Baghdad to less remote government in Ifrīqiya. Thus, Ibrahīm b. al-Aḡlab, the first of the Aghlabid dynasty, was appointed as governor in return for a substantial tribute payment. So in a certain sense, the decision to colonize Sicily in 827 by Ibrahīm's son, Ziyādat Allāh, could be interpreted in terms of economic self-interest which had now assumed greater importance for the payment of tribute and might also help to explain the motive behind the series of truces concluded with

the Byzantines in Sicily in the first decades of the ninth century. More significantly, however, the invasion served as a distraction from dissenting and increasingly rebellious local forces in Ifrīqiya too.<sup>35</sup> Byzantine naval operations, once carried out under Emperor Constans II in the central and western Mediterranean when the Empire's centre of gravity had momentarily shifted westwards, had long since been scaled down, thereby presenting Sicily as a more opportune target. Thus, a combination of economic, political and opportunistic motives may have spurred the Muslims to respond to intervene on behalf of Byzantine Sicilian rebel Euphemius in western Sicily in 827. Secessionist tendencies had frequently emerged in Sicily and, from a Muslim perspective, as the island was Christian-held territory that lay outside the *Dār al-Islām*, an invasion was itself justifiable on legal and religious grounds too. Indeed, the earliest invasion was not only headed by the famous Mālikī jurist Asad b. al-Furāt, but it was also frequently referred to in Muslim sources as a *ḡihād*.<sup>36</sup> As such, when Christian and Jewish communities capitulated, they fell under the *dimma* or 'protection' of the Muslims. From that moment, they were expected to pay the *ḡizya* (a type of religious poll tax) under the terms of an *aman* or treaty. That is to say, as religious groups recognized by Islam, they were embraced into the legal custody of the Islamic community, but were required to pay a higher tax burden if they wished to continue practising their religion. In Sicily, Syracuse is recorded as having paid the *ḡizya* as early as 740.<sup>37</sup> In addition, Malaterra recorded that the Christians in the Val Demone were '*sub Sarracenis tributarii*' at the end of the eleventh century.<sup>38</sup> As we shall see, under the Christian kings of the Norman period, the religious and legal tables were turned such that the Sicilian Muslims appeared to have been offered broadly similar terms and conditions more usually applied to 'protected' *dimmi* communities under Islamic law.

### Phases of the Islamic conquest of Sicily

A striking feature of the Islamic conquest was the sheer length of time it took to gain full control of the island. In contrast, the thirty-year 'Norman' conquest of Sicily comprised of intermittent and often fragmented offensives pushing generally to the west and aiming at a handful of key defensive sites. However, even this might be considered a *blitzkrieg* assault by comparison to the Muslim efforts to push east. After 130 years of 'invasion', colonization and administration, Christian resistance in some key eastern and north-eastern strongholds had still not been overcome. Indeed, the *ḡihād* may be seen to have lost its momentum on several occasions. After initial and unsuccessful attempts to besiege Syracuse and Castrogiovanni, Muslim military operations concentrated on consolidating early gains made in the south-western Val di Mazara. Palermo had fallen in 831, and ten years later the Val di Mazara was under almost total Muslim

control. During the first siege of Castrogiovanni, the first Sicilian Muslim coinage was struck, dated AH 214/829 CE. The capture of important towns further east were the objects of piecemeal, and not always successful, campaigns in the 850s and 860s. Butera fell after a five-month siege in 853 and Cefalù was taken five years later. Towns in the central areas and south-eastern Val di Noto were then besieged, culminating in the eventual fall of Castrogiovanni in 859 and Noto in 864. The fall of Castrogiovanni was particularly significant, since it was essential that this pivotal town be taken if long-term control of the east of the island was to be possible. Indeed, two centuries later, it proved an equally problematic and important citadel for the Norman-led coalition to take. Muslim sources recorded that, after its capture, a rudimentary mosque (*masġid*) was built in which the *wālī* ('provincial governor') al-ʿAbbās bin al-Faḍl prayed.<sup>39</sup> Although the following decades saw the occupation of Malta in 869 and the prolonged siege and fall of Syracuse in 878, the end of the Aghlabid era witnessed another serious loss of momentum. Notably, however, the invasion of Sicily and attacks on the Italian peninsula slightly predate a number of ambitious building projects in Ifrīqiya. These include the construction or reconstruction of the main mosques at Qayrawān (from 836), Sousse (851) and Tunis (854–63) as well as the foundation of Sfax in 849 and the restoration of the city ramparts at Tunis and Sousse in the mid-to-late 850s. As such, it is tempting to infer from the chronological coincidence of these activities with operations in Sicily and the Mediterranean that the success of one may have helped to pay for the other.

In 886–7, a rebellion on Sicily broke out which re-erupted again in 898–9, leading to a suspension of military activity in eastern Sicily. Although Taormina was sacked in 902, which left the Val Demone more exposed to attack, the first half of the tenth century also witnessed a series of internal rebellions that spread across the western parts of the island. The first and last quarters of the tenth century saw a more active policy of expansion in North Africa generally and attacks against the Italian mainland were pursued by the Fatimid caliphs. In 962–3, military operations in Sicily were renewed and centred on completing the subjugation of the north-eastern Val Demone. After a second lengthy siege, Taormina again fell.<sup>40</sup> In effect, this left only the fortified town of Rometta as the final remaining centre of Christian opposition. This too fell three years later. Although the island was now theoretically under complete Arab-Muslim control, the west of the island had had a considerably longer exposure to the settlement, language and culture of the new ruling elite. On the other hand, greater resistance in many eastern areas, especially in the north-eastern Val Demone, had led to the retention of a far greater degree of its former Greek and Italo-Greek Christian character. But even within this broad scheme, there were significant shades of regional variation as well as tangible differences between the character of town and country settlement.

### Demographic patterns: the Christian exodus?

There is little doubt that during the Muslim attacks, some of the island's population sought refuge on the mainland. While the handful of examples of which we know feature those from wealthy or ecclesiastical backgrounds, whether the general mass of the population followed them is far from clear.<sup>41</sup> In a seminal article on the 'Byzantinisation' of Southern Italy, Léon-Robert Ménager argued that long before 'the Normans had liberated the island from the Muslim yoke' there had been a Sicilian Greek 'exodus' to Calabria.<sup>42</sup> The principal causes of this demographic movement, we are told, were 'the murderous incursions of the Arabs' which, in turn, had revitalized the Byzantine Greek character of Calabria. Although Ménager was primarily concerned with the religious development of the area, the article often speaks of 'Greek emigration' as if it were a wider movement. His thesis was opposed by André Guillou who argued the case for a rather more static model of Christian settlement generally in both Calabria and Sicily.<sup>43</sup>

The evidence presented to support the refugee theory comes largely from hagiographical accounts in Greek of saints who came from Sicily and Calabria between the ninth and eleventh centuries. These *Lives* are an important, but tricky, source and share a number of common features. For instance, all were written by contemporaries, usually disciples, and many concern ascetics who had associations with the monastic communities of St. Philip's at Agira in Sicily and/or those around Mount Mercurion in Calabria. Most took refuge at some point from the Muslims, if only locally and for a limited period, while others fled further afield or wandered back and forth around the Mediterranean. Most were well travelled and several attracted disciples or were founders of monastic communities themselves. In this key respect, nearly all had, or developed, connections in Calabria where they spent at least some time. Some, such as Elias the Troglodyte, had even initially migrated from Calabria to Sicily. When his companion was killed in a Muslim raid, he returned to his native Calabria before moving on to Rome. Saint Nilus, an important source for his relations with the Muslims, never actually set foot in Sicily, but was born and bred in Calabria. Recurring themes in such literature, especially for those pursuing a more ascetic existence, include acts of healing, prediction, religious conversion and the working of miracles, often *post-mortem*. There is a certain irony in that those monks who had closer relations with the Muslims also appear to have enjoyed fruitful diplomatic relations too. Towards the end of the tenth century, Saint Nilus famously sent 100 pieces of gold to the Muslim *amīr* of Palermo (whose secretary was a Christian) intended for the release of three monks. Not only were they released, but the money was returned to Nilus with gifts and polite praise. Nilus was also able to exercise influence with the Fatimids and secured the release of prisoners from North Africa.



Capture and release was also a theme in the Life of Saint Elias the Younger who was first taken prisoner as a twelve-year-old in 835. He was bought back by Christians but recaptured and taken to North Africa where he was again ransomed. Although Elias inspired victory over the Muslims and was involved in legal wrangles and conversions, he showed little overt hostility towards them in his travelling life, almost all of which was outside Sicily. While these episodes reveal that the taking and ransoming of prisoners appears to have been commonplace, they also show that Muslim-Christian relations were not necessarily hostile.<sup>44</sup> It is occasionally possible to read into otherwise inimical hagiographical accounts a curious sense of mutual respect, sometimes articulated in passages which may be read figuratively. For example, in the mid-tenth century, Saint Vitale had travelled from Sicily to Calabria which, we are told, he liberated from banditry and murderers, by way of a miracle. Then, during a Muslim attack on his monastery, all the monks fled leaving only Vitale, whereupon the Muslims found themselves enveloped by a mist and were threatened by Vitale with divine retribution until they prostrated themselves and asked for forgiveness. More significantly, he obtained from them a guarantee not to attack Christians any more, which presumably they honoured.

The experiences of Saint Elias the Troglodyte suggest that taking refuge from the Muslims may only have been for a limited period. In a mid-tenth century Muslim raid, the one-handed monk took to the hills disguised as a wild animal. Although he survived for forty days without drinking, the more significant historical point is that he then returned home when presumably it was safe to do so. Around the same time, the Saints Sabas and Macrarius relocated to Calabria from Sicily. However, this move was not directly due to the Muslims as *Ménager* implies. Rather, their biographer recorded that a famine in Sicily had become so bad that some were said to have resorted to cannibalism. It was this that actually prompted them to leave the island. Indeed, Sabas even returned from Agira to his native Collesano to persuade his mother and family to travel with them, but failed to convince them to leave. Only in the Life of Saint Leo-Luke are we told that his early flight to Calabria in 827 was due to the 'violent incursions of the Muslims'.

Other evidence for large-scale emigration is equally inconclusive and relies on a relatively small body of onomastic evidence that makes an association between the appearance of Greek names and a northward movement.<sup>45</sup> During the conquest period, both Arabic and Greek sources recorded much bloodshed and many towns in Sicily were besieged and presumably damaged. Ibn al-Aṭīr frequently recorded the slaughter of the opposition and there is no doubt that some Christians were also taken prisoner in these campaigns. Besides which, although direct evidence is scarce, there is no real doubt that substantial de- and repopulation took place, particularly in the west. However, it is not clear how to overcome the

methodological difficulties inherent in the refugee argument and its validity. The hagiographical evidence shows the ‘exodus’ of half a dozen monks to Calabria, at least temporarily, which doubtless represented a shift in the centre of religious gravity between two areas. However, it is less credible to infer from this that a wider population movement would have followed in their wake. Indeed, monastic communities may have had more reason to fear the Muslims than lay Christians and thus had a greater reason for action. As we have seen, many of the saints had Calabrian connections all along, while others travelled on to a number of places. As such, the argument which these premises underpin; that there could have been large-scale emigration from Sicily, remains at very best, inconclusive.

On the other hand, it is quite clear from the stubborn and sustained resistance with which the Muslims met and which Arabic sources record, that many parts of the north-eastern Val Demone continued to be home to vigorous Christian communities. These were sufficiently strong in some areas to keep the Muslims at bay for almost 150 years. So if some monks had gone to Calabria, clearly not everyone had followed them. Moreover, André Guillou has noted that, during the first thirty years of the ‘Norman’ invasion, there does not appear to have been any large-scale shift back from Calabria to Sicily, as one might have expected had there been an initial movement.<sup>46</sup> There also remains evidence that relates to the continued existence of churches and monasteries in Sicily around which may be inferred at least some semblance of Christian communities.<sup>47</sup> Thus, with some justification, the nineteenth-century Sicilian Arabist Michele Amari concluded: ‘at the time of the Norman conquest, the Val Demone was full of Christians, who were also significant, although increasingly less so, in the Val di Noto and Val di Mazara, Syracuse, Palermo, Vicari, Petralia and elsewhere’.<sup>48</sup>

### **Conversion, assimilation and degrees of Christian-ness**

Although chronological narratives can give an idea of the immediate effects of military campaigns and their political consequences, they give little idea of the much slower pace of assimilative socio-religious and linguistic change that evidence suggests was also taking place. For instance, if the question of Sicilian Christian migration in large numbers during the Islamic period remains open and not all could have been shipped off as captive slaves to North Africa, did many subsequently convert to Islam? This was precisely the claim of the thirteenth-century Muslim geographer Yāqūt, that ‘most of [Sicily’s] population became Muslim’.<sup>49</sup> If many had indeed been enslaved, then manumission may have been more forthcoming on conversion or vice versa. However, apart from Yāqūt’s unequivocal statement, there is no other direct evidence for religious conversion to Islam during this period. On the other hand, a contemporary account by the tenth-century Muslim

geographer, Ibn Ḥawqal, suggests a more complex process of assimilation may have been at work. He made the following claim in 973 on a visit to the island:

most people from the [Sicilian] forts, the remoter parts and the villages are bastardised Muslims (*mušaʿmiḍūn*) and think that marriage to Christians is [allowed] provided that their male child follows the father by being a bastardised Muslim (*mušaʿmiḍ*), and that a female [child] becomes a Christian with her mother. They neither pray, nor do they perform ritual ablutions [or ‘they are not circumcised’], nor do they pay the alms tax, nor do they perform the pilgrimage [to Mecca].<sup>50</sup>

Although some doubts remain over the reading and meaning of the word *mušaʿmiḍūn*, there can be no doubt that Ibn Ḥawqal chose to portray these people as occupying some socio-religious twilight zone.<sup>51</sup> He was not greatly impressed by their speech either and did not even consider them as proper Arabic speakers, stating that:

The disposition of [Sicily’s] country folk is like that of the non-Arabic [or ‘Persian’] speaking regions outside Fatimid control (*al-ḡazāʾir al-ʿuḡm*) – incoherent deaf mutes (*al-ḡutm al-ṣumm al-bukum*). Its inhabitants, who are not classified in any books (*asfār*), are worse than a simple beast in their understanding, their indifference towards rights and duties, and the state of their commercial affairs (*muʿāmalāt*).<sup>52</sup>

So, according to Ibn Ḥawqal, the same people who neglected their duties were of the same type as those who did not pray, married Christians, brought up their daughters as Christians and spoke unintelligibly. These were the bastardized Muslims, the *mušaʿmiḍūn*, of rural Sicily in the 970s.

If Ibn Ḥawqal is to be credited, then the above passages could be interpreted in one of two ways. Either he was referring to North African Muslim settlers or a mix of Christian and Muslim stock who had found themselves diluted into the indigenous culture and had developed the habit of marrying local Christian girls. But given that the *mušaʿmiḍūn* were said to be the majority in such areas, they would have presumably retained the greater part of whatever language they had formerly used. This, Ibn Ḥawqal might have recognized as either Berber or known as Arabic. Alternatively, and perhaps more plausibly, is that the *mušaʿmiḍūn* were local Christians who had converted to Islam. As such, they appear to have been slowly and imperfectly assimilating to Arab-Islamic norms while continuing to marry Christian women who were perpetuating the religion through the more conservative female line. Whichever interpretation is

preferred, neither scenario denies widespread acculturation. If Islam had had only superficial effects on such Christian communities by the mid-tenth century, it is likely that the acquisition and spread of Arabic in rural parts had been equally slow, hence their ill-defined and incomprehensible dialect. Their ignorance and lack of faith, Ibn Ḥawqal adds, is because most of them were *mawālī* or ‘clients’; a term often applied to non-Arab converts to Islam.

Ibn Ḥawqal’s evidence remains tantalizing. On the one hand, his account is forthright, first-hand and seems credible. His qualifications to comment are supported still further by his claim to have composed another work devoted entirely to the island, called the ‘Book of Sicily’. But if this piece ever did exist, it remains to be discovered. On the other hand, there is a good argument for not taking Ibn Ḥawqal at face value, based on his socio-religious and political biases against the Sicilian Muslims and Kalbid dynasty generally. For example, he made no attempt to conceal his contempt for the unconventional practices of the ‘orthodox’ Sicilian Muslims whom he regarded as degenerate, relative to his own idealist Fatimid Ismaili standards. And while many of his observations, particularly about Sicilian urban life, ring true, he was occasionally given to exaggeration and trivia.<sup>53</sup>

Open to interpretation are at least three references in Greek before the end of the eleventh century to people or groups of people who were said to be ‘most Christian’.<sup>54</sup> On the one hand, this use of the superlative is clearly intended to emphasize and praise the piety of the people to whom it was applied. However, the implication that there existed degrees of Christian-ness makes an intriguing, if not entirely unattractive, thesis. But the tenuous evidence as presented here for the fate of the Sicilian Christians does not allow strong conclusions to be drawn. By all accounts, it would appear that they were subjected to a number of social, religious, demographic and linguistic forces over many generations. Some were captured, enslaved and transported, others may well have migrated to the mainland. The majority, however, are likely to have signed collective pacts (*aman*-s) under which they became ‘protected people’ (*ahl al-dimma*). Of these, unknown, and maybe very large, numbers gently assimilated into Arab-Islamic culture or converted to Islam. Equally unknown are the numbers that were more resistant to the changes around them and persisted with their old ways. So, while some of these effects certainly depleted, diluted or disrupted their communities, others are likely to have had the converse result of strengthening their characteristic identities of language and religion. Undoubtedly, Sicilian Christian communities were strongest in the north-eastern Val Demone, but their distribution patterns and strength of their language(s) and culture outside this area remains a matter of conjecture.

### The Islamicization of Sicily

Very little information can be reliably recovered that concerns the settlement of Sicily during the Islamic period. Although it is clear that much repopulation took place, the rates of change and depth of cultural, religious and linguistic penetration remain highly problematic.

The tenth-century geographer, al-Muqaddasī, cited the most important towns in Sicily. Many that had been significant in the east of the island during the Roman and Byzantine periods, such as Messina, Taormina, Aci, Catania, Lentini, Demenna, Paternò, Butera and Rometta remained centres of importance. Similarly, the Islamic period saw the continued importance of pre-Islamic towns such as Cefalù or Geraci, Petralia and Collesano in the north-central zone of the Madonie hills. However, in the west and south-west, the fortunes of the ports of Termini, Trapani, Marsala and Agrigento were revived, as were other towns on the African-facing coast, such as Mazara and Sciacca which now rose to prominence.

It is likely that considerable Arab-Islamic influence came to be exercised in the island's defensive urban centres, especially in the west of the island. In addition, the main fortified towns in the Val Demone such as Messina, Rometta, Taormina and Aci are presumed to have had substantial Muslim populations at the time of the Norman-led invasion. Had this not been the case, then the Christians' reconquest of those areas would have been considerably easier than it turned out to be. Although there is much work to be done on establishing the minor toponymy of Sicily, it is well known that modern Sicilian toponymy bears witness to Arab-Muslim settlement. This was relatively more prevalent in the west of the island and characterized by the widespread diffusion of place names derived from Arabic.

Arabic place names in Sicily followed three types of pattern in their formation. Some towns became known by entirely Arabic names. Especially common were estates based around the forms of *rahl* or *manzil* ('village' or 'estate'). Peaks or promontories tended to begin with *ra's*; hills with *ġabal* and fortified towns with *qal'a(t)*.<sup>55</sup> Hence, the modern toponyms Racasale (< *Rahl al-ʿAssāl* 'Village of the Bee-keeper'); Mezzoiuso (< *Manzil Yūsuf* 'Joseph's estate'); Rasicanzirri (< *Ra's al-Khinzīr* 'Cape of the Pig'); (Gibilmesi < *Ġabal al-Maʿaz* 'Mountain of the Goats'); Caltabellotta (< *Qalʿat al-Ballūt* 'Oak-tree fort'). Besides these a number of Latin or Greek toponyms were Arabicized, such that *rocca* > *ruqqa* (Ruqqat Anṭalla = Castellum Hantella); *castrum* > *qaṣr* (Castrogiovanni = Qaṣr Yānī); Drepanis = I.ṭrab.n.s (modern Trapani) and Cefalà = Ġafala (modern Cefalà Diana) among very many others. Less commonly, some towns were completely renamed. Thus, Lilybaeum became Marsā Allāh or ʿAlī, (modern Marsala) and for a while after 963, Taormina was known as al-Muʿizziyya after the Fatimid caliph at the time. At least one town, Palermo, was known by more than one name. In the 1180s, Ibn Ġubayr twice made

the comment that it was called 'B.larm' (< Panormus) by Christians but known as 'al-Madīna' ('the town') by the Muslims.<sup>56</sup>

Rough but telling Arabic:Greek demographic divisions can be reckoned from the distribution of toponyms. Amari recorded that, of 328 place names of Arabic derivation, only 19 (6 per cent) were located in the north-eastern Val Demone, while 209 (64 per cent) were in the south-western Val di Mazara and 100 (30 per cent) in the south-eastern Val di Noto.<sup>57</sup> Of 241 toponyms beginning with *Rahl*, *Manzil*, *Qal'a*, *Burğ* and their Latinized variants, Henri Bresc noted similar proportions; 25 (10 per cent) in the Val Demone, 161 (67 per cent) in the Val di Mazara and 55 (23 per cent) in the Val di Noto.<sup>58</sup> The survival of Greek charters during and after the Norman conquest shows their heavy concentration around the Val Demone, supporting the notion that this area was more 'Greek' than any other part of the island.<sup>59</sup>

After the fall of Palermo in 831 when the city appeared to have sustained heavy damage, it was most likely depopulated. According to Ibn al-Aṭīr, such was the slaughter that Palermo's population dropped from 70,000 to 3,000 inhabitants, which we may well wish to regard as figurative, and not to be taken literally.<sup>60</sup> Nonetheless, Palermo appeared to have recovered quickly as the new Muslim capital of the island, which suggests that it was largely repopulated. The *grammatikos* and monk Theodosius, who had known the famed city of Syracuse before (and during) its siege by the Muslims in 878, also knew Palermo to be a fine and strong city.<sup>61</sup> Later, exiled Muslim poets would recall the splendour of Palermo's gardens, although from contemporary conceptions of heaven one wonders about the extent to which their retrospective laments were for a 'paradise lost'.<sup>62</sup> Certainly when Ibn Ḥawqal visited Sicily in 973, Palermo seemed to have all the hallmarks of a thriving Arab-Islamic city. His figure of 300 mosques was clearly an estimate and may well be an exaggerated one at that, but is taken seriously by many modern scholars on the grounds that the figure may have included many small, devotional places. In general, it is clear from the relatively large numbers of biographical references to Sicilian Muslim religious jurists, Quranic scholars, grammarians, scientists and poets that the island quickly developed an international reputation as an intellectual and academic centre, especially in the Islamic sciences and Sicily's artistic standing was enhanced by its renown for the fine quality of its textiles and embroidery.<sup>63</sup>

We know very little about the land distribution system in the Islamic period and it is not possible to enter the complex debates that surround it in this work. Amari, and others after him, surmised that Sicily followed a 'traditionally Islamic' system. However, such so-called Islamic systems were characterized as much by variation as conformity. For a detailed and much needed revision of this discussion, reference should be made to Jeremy Johns' *The Royal Diwān* in which evidence, pieced together from

al-Dāwudī's *Kitāb al-Amwāl* is combined with archaeological finds and inferences based on what is known from other Islamic fiscal schemes to infer that the Sicilian system was broadly based on an Ifrīqīyan model. Thus, a single and central financial office under the supervision of a chief administrator oversaw local tax offices managed by local tax officials. These were responsible for the collection of the *ḡizya* (religious poll tax), the *kharāḡ* (a land tax, payable by all) and the *zakāt* (a Muslim alms tax). Presumed to be exempt from the *kharāḡ*, were holders of land-grants (*qaṭī'a*; plural, *qaṭā'i'*) which are thought to have formed the basis of the *iqṭā'* system of land division. Many of the principles and practices of this notoriously variable system, at least in passing, resembled northern European 'feudal' models; not least in that the division and distribution of tracts of land to landlords were often made on a military basis. The extent to which existing Byzantine practices were incorporated into the Sicilian Muslim system remains unknown, but whatever model evolved, it appears to have disintegrated in the mid-1030s when the island began its political fragmentation into petty principalities. A forged Latin charter from the twelfth century claimed that land division was at that time made 'according to the old Saracen boundaries', suggesting that these may have provided the basis for the Muslims' administrative successors.<sup>64</sup> Further questions arising from royal boundary registers from the Norman period form much of the discussions in chapters six and seven.

Colonists from North Africa are likely to have been attracted by the wealth of Sicily's agricultural and pastoral lands and the opportunities provided by the acquisition of lands vacated or taken during the invasion campaigns. This again, would point to the west of the island being colonized first and more heavily. This settlement pattern certainly appears to fit the scenario during the Norman period when the western wheat-growing areas were largely inhabited by Muslims and remained so even at the end of the twelfth century. Apart from the important cultivation of cereal crops and their export, the Muslims are also accredited with introduction of 'exotic' plants such as cotton, citrus fruits, dates and sugarcane, although not all were cultivated past the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>65</sup>

The thermal baths near Cefalà Diana in west-central Sicily, complete with a Arabic inscription from the late eleventh or early twelfth century, provide an rare example of surviving architecture of Arab-Islamic inspiration apart from royal structures.<sup>66</sup> However, it also shows the extent to which these rural parts had been exposed to a significant degree of Arab-Islamic influence. Besides this, agricultural methods, such as irrigation schemes comparable to ones found in North Africa, are clear signs that this influence had been exerted over wide tracts of rural Sicily. Agricultural terms attest to systems of land irrigation, the complexity of which is supported by archaeological evidence in the form of underground conduits and drainage channels. Although rural parts of Sicily were undoubtedly

Islamicized and Arabicized by Muslim settlers, these processes are likely to have been slower than the swift and more carefully monitored repopulation programmes of urban and defensive sites.

### Rometta

There is some evidence relating to the apparent fortification of the island and strengthening of its new-found Islamic character, said to have happened following the fall of Rometta in 965, an event which effectively marked the end of the Muslim conquest period.<sup>67</sup> In the year 966–7, the caliph, al-Mu‘izz (953–75) is said to have ordered:

the building of Palermo’s walls and their reinforcement advising that building them today would be better than tomorrow and that there should be built in each province (*iqḷīm*) of the island a fortified town (*madīna ḥaṣīna*) with a congregational mosque and pulpit (*minbar*). [He also ordered] that the people of each province take to inhabiting their [province’s] town and not be scattered about in villages. The *amīr* Aḥmad quickly did this and began the building of Palermo’s walls and sent out officials (*mašāyikh*) throughout the island to follow up the construction work.<sup>68</sup>

For the prominent historian, Henri Bresc, the mid-to-late 960s represented a key moment in the ‘formation of the Sicilian people’, as he argues that the above events recorded by al-Nuwayrī not only consolidated Islamic rule, but also helped to fashion the island into a more standard Arab-Islamic format.<sup>69</sup> The mid-to-late 960s are indeed important, but not necessarily for the reasons outlined by Bresc, as it was after this final campaign in Sicily that the Fatimids turned their attention to the shift of power-base from Ifrīqiya to Egypt. Following the move in 970, the Fatimids hardly looked over their shoulder back to the west, and within the space of two generations, Sicily had entered a phase of irrevocable political disintegration. Moreover, and another serious objection to the Bresc theory, is that dispersed rural settlement patterns from the Norman period suggest no great urbanizing movement, and that, of all the documentary sources that covered this period, al-Nuwayrī was the only one to make mention of it. We might also note a lack of archaeological evidence for the alleged construction work too. That said, an inscription fragment from Termini records the construction of an unspecified building apparently on the order of al-Mu‘izz.<sup>70</sup> However, this is datable to the period 953–66, not post-967, as we would expect from al-Nuwayrī’s account. In Palermo, the construction of the Kalsa can be dated to the years 936–7, when at the same time, according to Ibn al-Aṭīr, much of the town was demolished.<sup>71</sup> In the case of Palermo at least, the city walls appeared to be complete by the



time of Ibn Hawqal's visit in 973 and so are not inconsistent with the al-Nuwayrī account. On the other hand, al-Bakrī recorded that the same caliph ordered that the battered Ifrīqiyan city of Raqqāda be ploughed into the ground.<sup>72</sup> In this case, we know that the order cannot have been carried out as the city remained inhabited until the end of the tenth century. Thus, it is quite possible that in Sicily, if the caliph's order was ever issued, it was never implemented. As such, the social, religious and demographic consequences for the silent majority of Sicily's population following the battle of Rometta remain largely indeterminable, but the situation is as likely to have remained fragmented in the same ways it had been before as it was to have changed in the rather convenient and consolidating way that Bresc would have us believe.

### **The social and linguistic situation at the end of the Islamic period**

The traditional dates for Islamic Sicily are given as 827–1061; that is to say, from the moment that the first Muslim invasion force landed to the point at which the Norman-led forces began their assault on Messina. However, it would be impossible, indeed misconceived, to suggest any date when Islamic Sicily 'came into being'. Even at a less abstract level, it is very difficult to say when a particular area had a Muslim or Arabic-speaking majority for the first time. Bresc concluded that 'in 1050, Sicily seemed tightly bound to Islam and Arabic'.<sup>73</sup> Although this conservative time frame may express a general truth, no such single date could ever take account of the strength and depth of Arab-Muslim penetration that different regions experienced. As we have seen, some areas, particularly those in western Sicily, appear to have been heavily repopulated from the mid-ninth century by Muslims. In such an environment, Christian enclaves or those used as slaves with their Greek or Italo-Greek dialects are likely to have adopted Arabic as a first or second language within a few generations. Although there is no doubt that the Christian population was more concentrated in the north-east of the island, there are important indications in narrative sources that indigenous Christian communities had survived across the island throughout the Islamic period. Malaterra recorded that, during the 'Norman invasion' of the island, Robert Guiscard raided as far to the west as Agrigento where we learn that 'the Christians of these regions very gladly fell in with him, and gave their support in many ways'.<sup>74</sup> Christians and Muslims are attested as living together in towns as far afield as Petralia and Reggio, although presumably in very different proportions.<sup>75</sup> Survival of at least a rudimentary Christian community in Palermo is shown by the well-known example of its Greek archbishop, (probably called Nicodemus) who was said to have been 'a timid man celebrating the Christian religion as best he could in the poor church of St. Cyriacus'.<sup>76</sup> The survival of functioning churches elsewhere during the Islamic period may be inferred from the threat made by the Muslims in the

mid-tenth century to destroy all the churches in Sicily and Ifrīqiya should the Christians damage the mosque built in Reggio in Calabria.<sup>77</sup>

Although explicit evidence is hard to come by, no one seriously doubts that many Sicilian Christian *ḍimmī* communities converted to Islam over the course of two centuries of Muslim rule, perhaps encouraged by the prospect of no longer having to pay the *ḡizya* and in the hope of an improvement in their socio-religious standing. In the south-western Val di Mazara where immigrant settlement had been most dense and, to a lesser extent, in the Val di Noto, the majority of its population were most probably Arabic speaking and Muslim by the eleventh century and maybe much earlier. In the Val Demone, where Greek and/or Italo-Greek language and culture were more concentrated, Christian communities existed in more conspicuous forms. But around and across the many sociolinguistic frontiers that had been created, it is fair to assume that different communities underwent different degrees of acculturation at different times and rates. Among the many Christian and Muslim communities that had integrated or lived in close proximity to one another, varying degrees of bilingualism are likely to have been quite unremarkable. Two early examples from sources may be cited which serve to confirm this state of affairs. First, is the case of a certain Peter the deacon who was sent to Palermo as a spy by Robert Guiscard and of whom Amatus tells us that he '*endendoit et parloit molt bien coment li Sarrazin*'.<sup>78</sup> During the siege of Syracuse, Malaterra recorded that a Greek called Philip, son of Gregory the *patricius*, was sent out with a group of sailors on a mission to reconnoitre the Muslim fleet. We are told that they could pass as Muslims since they all spoke Arabic as well as they could speak Greek.<sup>79</sup>

In a scenario such as Sicily, Arabic as the tongue of the more numerous, victorious settlers, was likely to have been the language of acculturation and the main medium of communication as a *lingua franca*. Indeed, as an Arab-Islamic colonial expansion conducted in the name of a *ḡihād*, Sicily, like Malta, adopted the prestigious language of Arabic in reflection of its ruling elite and association with Islam. However, as we shall see, the survival of Greek and/or Italo-Greek dialects in some Christian communities was governed by quite different forces. Although these basic working assumptions about the society of mid-eleventh-century Sicily concentrate on factors that might have had a bearing on the later sociolinguistic and religious situation, it would be difficult to find substantial contrast with modern views on the subject. Thus, according to Alberto Várvaro,

opinion varies greatly on the linguistic situation that the Normans found in Sicily. No one any longer doubts that a large part of the population, the administration and cultural milieu used Arabic, nor is the survival of Greek, at least in the north-eastern area, a matter of controversy.<sup>80</sup>

Unlike previous settlers, the Muslims brought significant social, demographic, religious and linguistic change to the base of the island, and the ways and extent to which Arabic supplanted other languages before receding into decline, along with Islam as the main religion of the island, will be the subject of the coming chapters.

### The 'Norman conquest' of Sicily?

One could argue that the Norman invasion of Sicily was neither an invasion, nor was there anything particularly 'Norman' about it, other than the geographical and genetic origins of the initial leaders Robert Guiscard and Roger de Hauteville. A modest military force arrived in the east of the island to assist in a civil war that would eventually see the re-emergence of Christian control. Robert would not live to see the last Muslim stronghold fall in 1091 and Roger was dead within ten years of it. His son would eventually oversee the creation of a short-lived kingdom that united Sicily with territories in the southern Italian peninsula and even extended into North Africa. Its kings, all born and bred in the same southern lands over which they were theoretically masters, were descended from Count Roger, who was the only one of them ever to have seen Normandy. Even for him, that must have been a dim and distant memory, having spent almost fifty years in the Italian peninsula. Nonetheless, six of his descendants, over a period of barely sixty-five years, would lord over an insurgent baronial minority and a diverse population governed through an administration and kingship forged largely from southern Mediterranean sources. As with the Muslim invasion, Christian rule in the Norman period would reintroduce radical changes to the demographic, religious and linguistic base of the island over a 250-year span. But unlike the Islamic period, these changes would prove irreversible.

While most modern authors still follow the Latin sources in their reference to 'the Normans', Arabic sources prefer the equally imprecise term 'Franks'. Use of these descriptive shorthand terms raises the thorny question of how best to refer to the 'Normans in the South'. The main problem is that the phrases 'Norman conquest,' 'Norman rule' or 'the Norman kings' beg uneven and unhelpful comparisons with contemporary England and northern France. The Sicilian kings had only increasingly remote genealogical connections to northern Europe and the nature of their rule was far from Norman. In general, they rarely looked further north than Rome, but focussed eastwards to Cairo and Constantinople and south towards Ifrīqiya. It is, of course, still meaningful to speak of 'Norman kingship' and of a 'Norman period' in Sicily. However, references to 'Normans' in almost every other context are likely to introduce preconceived ideas about the nature, dynamics and development of authority on the island. Indeed, to find so many authors persisting with

this inaccurate labelling is not only surprising but often reveals the singular direction from which they have approached and interpreted the subject.

### Events of the conquest

Prior to the Norman-led campaign, an attempt was made in 1038 by the renowned Byzantine General Maniaces to re-establish Christian rule in Sicily.<sup>81</sup> Although the expedition met with some successes around Rometta, Troina, and Messina, the Greeks were unable to break out or even gain widespread control of the Val Demone, although Messina did remain in Byzantine hands for around two years, which doubtless raised hopes among the Sicilian Christians that Muslim rule would eventually be overthrown. Bar this episode, however, we are largely reliant on the testimony of Latin sources, particularly Malaterra and Amatus for the period up until 1100. While reconstructing the chronological narrative of the invasion period is relatively straightforward, piecing together the history which determines questions of religion, politics, language and society is rather more challenging, given the paucity and imbalance of the relevant sources. The brief and selective account given by Ibn al-Aṭīr suggests that the political and military situation in Sicily was so fragile that the efforts of the Christian knights merely caused it to implode of its own accord. This, he states, was the reason (*sabab*) why the Christians became masters of the island. There are hints of this in the Latin sources too, but it was not always in their interests to point this out. Thus, Ibn al-Aṭīr began his ‘recollection of the Frankish possession of the island of Sicily’ in the year 998 with the stroke that incapacitated the *amīr* Yūsuf. Then he recounts how Sicily fragmented into petty principalities. The sources are not explicit about this disintegration of centralized authority. Ibn al-Aṭīr reckoned that the last Kalbid *amīr* was deposed in 1052–3, although Ibn Khaldūn more plausibly recorded that this happened somewhat earlier around 1039. A point to which we shall later return is that during this confused period it is likely that the central systems of government became disengaged from the provincial, although the latter is likely to have continued to function.

Very little is known about the chief protagonists of this period. Representatives of the Banū Kalb dynasty still held sway in the west and in some towns to the east. Ibn al-Ḥawwās appears to have retained control over the areas around the triangle of Agrigento, Castronuovo and Castrogiovanni. His brother-in-law, Ibn al-Maklātī, was in charge of Catania until his defeat by Ibn al-Ṭumna whose area of influence was around Syracuse. Around the towns of the western coast, a certain ‘Abdallāh b. Mankūt was master of Trapani, Marsala, Mazara and Sciacca. However, we remain largely ignorant of these important individuals. Portrayal of the initially central character of Ibn al-Ṭumna is blighted by

bad press from all sides, which significantly distorts our reading of his relationship with Robert and Roger. To the Latin sources, he was weak-minded and subservient; to the Muslim sources, he was treacherous and an unpredictable drunkard, responsible for handing over the island to the Franks. However, the nature of the relationship between Ibn al-Ṭumna and the Norman leaders was never clear. In a presumably fictionalized historical set piece, Ibn al-Aṭīr recorded the moment a civil war became a Christian reconquest when Ibn al-Ṭumna approached a 'group of Franks' and is depicted in a direct conversation with them.<sup>82</sup> Given that Ibn al-Ṭumna appears to have been the least powerful of the rival *amīr*-s, we may have to make allowances for Ibn al-Aṭīr's rhetoric. However, the strong implication is that Robert and Roger were, at least at the outset, reliant on his power, position and troops. The sense that early operations may actually have been underpinned by Ibn al-Ṭumna comes on his death in 1062, after which the garrisons at Petralia and Troina were immediately abandoned and the knights retreated to Messina.<sup>83</sup> To the Arabic sources, the Christian knights appear to have been regarded as little more than ambitious mercenaries who had entered Sicily on the invitation of a traitor. However, their military presence and, according to Malaterra, their *fortuna* and *strenuitas*, do appear to have become decisive factors in the war.

By and large, many of the towns that were the last to fall into the hands of the Muslims were now the first to fall to the Christians in the early period of the conquest. The knights under Robert and Roger were usually said to be, and may well have been, heavily outnumbered. However, Malaterra gives only the numbers of knights involved and makes little mention of other forces with whom they fought. For instance, it is unclear whether Ibn al-Ṭumna's troops and supporters transferred their loyalties to Roger after his death. If so, and there is some evidence to support this idea, then the 'Norman conquest' included substantial Muslim contingents, about which the Latin sources are largely silent. In fairness, we are told by Amatus that a Muslim settlement in Calabria gave allegiance to Robert Guiscard at a very early stage.<sup>84</sup> Elsewhere, we are occasionally made aware of the Muslim soldiers in Count Roger's army. The first reference is to be found at the siege of Salerno in 1076.<sup>85</sup> This may be added to several later references by Malaterra, for example at the siege of Cosenza in 1091, Castrovillari in 1094 and Capua in 1098.<sup>86</sup> We might also note the remark that in 1096, 'the count besieged Amalfi with 20,000 Muslims, countless others and all the counts of Apulia'.<sup>87</sup> Certainly, and as we shall see, Muslim regiments were used in Sicilian armies throughout the Norman period. The conquering force is also likely to have included auxiliaries from the mainland, but again, the sources are mainly silent about them. But we know, for example, that there was some Pisan involvement in the form of a brief and unsuccessful naval attack on Palermo in 1063, although their actions were independent of the coordinated coalition forces.<sup>88</sup> Indeed, the

Pisans were rivals to the Norman knights rather than their allies. The following year, Malaterra mentioned that Robert Guiscard raised a large army from Apulia and Calabria before heading for Sicily.<sup>89</sup>

### The 'Greeks' and Muslims of Troina

We are told that the allies included a number of indigenous Sicilian Christians, referred to as 'Greeks' in the Latin sources and that the Christians of Troina 'joyfully welcomed' the knights, at least when they first arrived.<sup>90</sup> However, the 'Greeks' fought on both sides and at Petralia, both Christians and Muslims surrendered to the invaders.<sup>91</sup> References to 'Greeks' are intriguing because the sense in which they were 'Greek' is not obvious. Clearly, they had little to do with Byzantine rule proper. On the other hand, it is equally clear that they were Christians and, at least those in the Val Demone were likely to have been able to speak some form of Greek and that during the Norman period from this area many documents in Greek would be drafted and issued. In addition, the 'Greeks' of Sicily may have been so-called because Greek was the language of their liturgy and the Greek was also the most likely *lingua franca* between themselves and the Norman knights' entourage.

More importantly, given the extent of Arab-Muslim settlement around the island, it is hard to believe that surviving Greek-speaking communities could have existed in absolute isolation from their Muslim neighbours. The events at Troina make a fascinating case study and show the potential for complex diversity of Sicilian society in the late eleventh century. As we have noted, when the knights first arrived, they were welcomed by the Christians. However, at some stage the 'Greeks' of Troina changed their mind and, with their Muslim neighbours, decided to blockade the town with Roger, his wife and his troops inside. The Muslim guards are attested as being drunk, which allowed Roger to break out from the town.<sup>92</sup> Wine-drinking and viticulture within Sicilian Muslim communities was not unusual, despite the pronouncement of the Qur<sup>3</sup>ān that alcohol is 'a work of Satan'.<sup>93</sup> Wine was a common theme of poetry, especially that of Ibn Ḥamdīs in the Islamic period and Ibn al-Ṭumna is attested as drunkenly threatening to open the veins of his wife, the sister of Ibn al-Ḥawwās. In the mid-twelfth century, wine-growers as well as pig-farmers are attested among villeins in predominantly Muslim areas.<sup>94</sup>

The populations of towns such as Troina show all the signs of frontier tolerance typically associated with frontier communities, with evidence for narrowing between the social, political and cultural barriers that would normally form characteristic boundary lines between groups. Indeed, in the following chapters we will discuss the body of evidence that supports a high level of social and linguistic contact and proximity between many indigenous Sicilian Christians and Muslims in the Norman and Swabian

periods. The ‘Greek’ alliance with the Muslims at Troina may have been unusual, but social and linguistic associations with Muslims could only have added to the perceived status of the former as a ‘most perfidious race’ in the eyes of the Latin sources.<sup>95</sup>

By 1091, the final Muslim stronghold of Noto had fallen after thirty years of piecemeal campaigning. The key battles and sieges are covered in Latin by Malaterra and include the fall of Messina in 1061; Troina in 1063; Cerami in 1063; Misilmeri in 1068; Palermo in 1072; Trapani in 1077; Taormina in 1079; Syracuse in 1085; Castrogiovanni in 1087 and Butera and Noto in 1091. Perhaps the most decisive battle in the west was that of Misilmeri in 1068 and the disintegration of the Sicilian Muslim and Zirid forces after which the way was opened to the capital, Palermo. It was clear from this point that military defeat would be a foreseeable consequence if the rifts between the Sicilian Muslims could not be healed and if no combined Muslim offensive could be launched or even mustered. Maybe as early as 1078, some type of peace accord existed between the Sicilians and the Zirids which is said to account for Roger’s reason not to join a joint Pisan–Genovan expedition against al-Mahdiyya in 1086.<sup>96</sup>

Although the island was now in the hands of a Christian ruling elite, their numerical inferiority remained and authority in Sicily still relied, in part, on the goodwill and cooperation of the conquered, and by and large, they were accorded this. Terms and conditions of peace appear not to have been unduly harsh and the circumstantial evidence this provides for the Muslim community’s collective tax burden is discussed in the next chapter.

### The Sicilian Muslim communities around 1090

The invasion of Sicily by the Muslims in the ninth century has been compared to the collapse of the Inca empire on the fall of Cuzco in 1533, in the sense that, while the main facts of the conquest are not in dispute, no one supposes that the language, culture and *mores* of the indigenous peoples were immediately supplanted by the Spanish equivalents.<sup>97</sup> Rather, what followed was again a gradual and sustained process of acculturation. In the Islamic period in Sicily, we have argued that this was coupled with some, probably small-scale, Christian emigration and an unknown degree of outright religious conversion to Islam. In this respect, the sociolinguistic and religious effects of the Muslim invasion were paralleled somewhat by the corresponding effects of the later Christian re-conquest.

In the face of impending Christian rule in the eleventh century, some of the wealthier Sicilian Muslim families emigrated.<sup>98</sup> The appeal of tactical withdrawal as a permissible response to a political and social reality is a common theme in Islam since Muḥammad ‘migrated’ from Mecca to Medina in 622. In Sicily, this was not, simply on economic grounds, an option open to all. Indeed, Ibn al-Aṭīr’s report of migrations is corroborated

by the appearance in the Maghrib, al-Andalus and North Africa of leading jurists, academic and poets, known or thought to have been originally from Sicily. Many of these took the epithet *al-Ṣiqillī*, to indicate their Sicilian origins. Some of the more notable, who are either known to us by their extant works or through biographical references, included the poet Ibn Ḥamdīs, who is thought to have been born in Syracuse shortly before the invasion. He left Sicily in 1078–9 and went to Seville, after which he is attested in Ifrīqiya at the time of Roger II's attack on Mahdiyya in 1123 and is thought to have died in Majorca in 1132.<sup>99</sup> Another poet, Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ, who also wrote on history and language, was born in 1041 during the civil war. Having left Sicily during the Christian invasion, he was later attested in al-Andalus, but more importantly, in Egypt where he became the teacher of the sons of Fatimid *wazīr* al-Afḍal and died in 1121. Ibn Makkī, who wrote a treatise correcting the speech errors of the Sicilians, was attested as a *qāḍī* ('magistrate' or 'judge') in North Africa and died in 1108. Finally, but among many others, was al-Māzarī, the Mālikī jurist originally from Mazara in Sicily who died in North Africa in 1141. His legal opinions about whether pronouncements made by Muslim magistrates appointed by infidels in Sicily had legal force will be examined as part of the relationship between the Muslim communities and the crown in the Norman period. All those who are attested as having emigrated come from either academic or religious backgrounds and from the higher professions. Given the expense required to leave and the fact that so many Muslim communities survived into the Norman period, it can be inferred that migration was limited to the social and intellectual elite of the island's Islamic communities, who presumably also took with them as much of their transferable wealth as they could. Nonetheless, their emigration left the wider Muslim community exposed, acephalous and with little choice but to submit to Christian rule following military defeat. In the early Norman period, very few Sicilian Muslim community leaders are known to us and it is not inconceivable that a leadership crisis was created by the vacuum left by the fleeing elite. By the beginning of the twelfth century, the politically and socially fragmented Muslim community had been deprived of its thinkers and policy-makers, smashed in battle, subjugated by non-Muslims and abandoned by the North African dynasties who would never again attempt to come to their rescue. The remaining Muslims had good reason to regard their prospects as bleak and uncertain, however, the new regime would provide economic growth and a level of peace that had not been seen on the island for at least two or three generations. Indeed, under the revised social structures imposed by 'infidel' rule, Islam and the Arabic language were far from dead.



## THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY: LANGUAGE, RELIGION AND STATUS

### Introduction to the issues

No thesis has yet been fully articulated nor, for that matter, has any theory become widely accepted that might account for the complex and radical transformation in the religious and linguistic base of the island from Arabic-speaking Muslim to 'Latin'-speaking Christian. Broadly speaking, two contrasting arguments define the two extremes of possibility. First is the idea that emigration, later in the form of deportation, left the Muslim areas so de-populated that their numbers eventually fell below a critical threshold at which such a community could continue to survive. Evidence from narrative sources and demographic studies suggests that areas once inhabited by the Muslims were gradually filled by Latin settlers, a process that began during the Christian reconquest of the mid-eleventh century.<sup>1</sup> However, unforced emigration is unlikely to have been an option open to any other than the wealthy and would hardly account for the overall demographic change. Similarly, the deportations of the Muslim rebels in the mid-thirteenth century removed only the final vestiges of the once-dominant Sicilian Muslim communities. Alongside the demographic theory is the idea that the Muslim population was significantly eroded by large-scale assimilation and religious conversion. However, the relative lack of unambiguous evidence for this begs the question as to how widespread conversion was and what the levels and rates of acculturation actually were. Closely linked to both these questions of religious identity and the changing distribution of the Muslims is the role played by language and how best to trace the margins of the Arabic-speaking Muslim communities and their pivotal relations with other Arabic-speaking groups. Unlike medieval Spain, there is less evidence to hand for Sicily in many respects. Indeed, although it is tempting to draw analogies between the two, we shall repeatedly see that it might be wiser not to. In Sicily, however, the extensive registers of villeins kept by the royal chancery and private landlords provide an important and unique tool for understanding and comparing the relative social and religious compositions of such communities.<sup>2</sup> While outlining the

general distribution and composition of Arabic-speaking communities is a relatively straightforward task, the real difficulties lie in defining the margins of such communities as these often showed the direction of the underlying social drift.

### **Messina and Agrigento: Christians and Muslims**

The social, religious and linguistic divisions between the north-east and the south-west of the island that were apparent during the Islamic period continued throughout the Norman period and are no more starkly contrasted than in two brief accounts relating to the port cities of Messina and Agrigento. The strength of Greek and/or Latin culture, or rather, the lack of Arab-Muslims may be seen from Ibn Ġubayr's account of the prosperous port of Messina that faced towards mainland Italy and seemed to have been home to an almost exclusively Christian population in the early 1180s. Ibn Ġubayr recalled how Messina was:

a Christian trading centre and a destination for ships from all quarters with many there for its low prices. No Muslims have settled there; it is grim with godlessness and crammed with Christians choking its inhabitants and almost squeezing the life out of them. It is full of smells and squalor, a cold place in which the stranger will find no friendly atmosphere. You can spend your day and night in safety here even if your ways, appearance and tongue are unfamiliar.<sup>3</sup>

To judge by his account, Arabic was barely understood in an otherwise bustling, wealthy and Christian Messina of the 1180s.<sup>4</sup> Clearly, the port had undergone some considerable degree of social and linguistic change since the days of Count Roger I who defeated the local Muslims there to take the city in 1061. By contrast, far to the south-west of Messina lay the African-facing port of Agrigento, in which we are told few Christians had settled until at least 1189.<sup>5</sup> In Ibn Ġubayr's account of Sicily, the vast majority of the population from Alcamo to Trapani was Muslim. As we shall see, villein registers relating to the west of the island support broadly similar conclusions.

Since general contrasts can be made between the population of the north-east and those of the south-west, there is an obvious way in which, however the people there viewed themselves and each other, they are not likely to have done so in the same way. As we shall see, the margins of one group may have often merged with another, yet basic social divisions may still be discerned that can shape our general views on the island's socio-religious and linguistic heterogeneity.

### The new rulers and the status quo

The political fragmentation that had resulted from twenty-five years of civil war in Muslim Sicily appears, by the mid-eleventh-century, to have reached a stalemate in which none of the various warring *amīr*-s could extend their dominion further than their own areas of local control. However, the Norman-led coalition forces swiftly introduced a new dynamic into the old state of affairs that was sufficient to tip the balance of power to their own advantage, through their military potential and willingness to include Muslim factions in *ad hoc* alliances with both short and long-term goals in mind. The political convenience of such inter-confessional affiliations doubtless raised awkward questions of the Christian leadership, and the resulting ambivalence between Muslims and Christians in general would be, from this very early moment, a constantly recurring feature of the entire Norman and Swabian periods.

As we have already noted, it is clear from passages in Malaterra that Muslims made up a significant part of the Norman leaders' army.<sup>6</sup> It might also be noted that alliances with leaders of Sicilian Muslim factions, such as with Ibn al-Ṭumna, show that the invasion was unlikely to have been driven by religious factors alone, in spite of implications to the contrary made by both Muslim and Latin historiographers. Thus, William of Apulia described Palermo as 'a city hostile to God ... enslaved by demons' and Malaterra reported how Count Roger ordered churches to be built throughout Sicily.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, Pope Gregory had encouraged Roger by letter 'to forward the cult of the Christian name among the pagans'.<sup>8</sup> That Sicily was largely Muslim may have provided a convenient *casus belli*, and would have also helped to guarantee papal support and that of Christians generally for a campaign which, in many other respects, appears to have been motivated by little more than self-interest.

As far as the conversion question is concerned, it is difficult to know the extent to which members of the Muslim elite converted because they were required to or whether they were also happy to benefit from the material gains that conversion offered. In 1087, after the capture of Castrogiovanni, Malaterra described how its lord, a certain 'Chamut', was persuaded to convert after the capture of his wife and children and then moved (or was obliged to move) to Calabria where he received lands.<sup>9</sup> However, the wider significance of this often quoted conversion remains confused. The Hammudids had been a notable dynastic force in North Africa and Islamic Spain and could even trace their blood line to the Prophet Muḥammad's favoured son-in-law, 'Alī. In Sicily, some with names that recall the 'Hammudids' who also had Frankish or Latin first names are attested throughout the twelfth century, prompting the speculative conclusion that many must have converted, perhaps *en masse*.<sup>10</sup> If a large-scale conversion did take place, it could not have included all the Sicilian Hammudids,

because the most famous leading Sicilian Muslim of his day, Abū l-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥammūd, is well-attested later in the latter half of the twelfth century and certainly did *not* convert. Given that the Hammudids had such widespread concerns and represented such an ill-defined social force, it is not surprising to find only a small handful of conversion candidates amongst them. Indeed, the very suggestion that there may have been an *en masse* conversion misunderstands the very nebulous nature of such ‘tribal’ interests and overstates them. Besides which, the most common Latinized or Greek versions of the name often confuse a ‘Ḥammūdī’ with someone called ‘Ḥammūd’, making it impossible to confirm or deny even a limited claim of related conversions. A further blow to the conversion theory is dealt by a certain Leone Chamoutos, who was attested in Calabria in 1050, attested a generation before the conversion at Castrogiovanni in 1087.<sup>11</sup>

In spite of this early and well-known example of religious conversion, there is no evidence to support a ‘policy’ of conversion in the early conquest period and very limited evidence is at hand to suggest that even very limited conversions might have prompted a wider conversion movement either. On the contrary, the permitted maintenance of Islamic customs was an important bargaining chip during negotiated peace treaties. Terms of settlement appear to have been reached swiftly and amicably and imply that the peaceful preservation of Islamic law was perceived as being in the interests of both parties. Thus, after the relatively speedy capture of Palermo in 1072, Malaterra noted that Muslims were to keep not only their faith, but also their culture.<sup>12</sup> Likewise, conversion was not a prerequisite for power even in this early period and, in many cases, Muslim leaders are assumed to have retained their old political positions.<sup>13</sup> Also noted by Malaterra was the conversion to Christianity and subsequent murder of a certain Elias ‘Cartomensis’ at the hands of other Muslims after he refused to reconvert to Islam.<sup>14</sup> However, this account bears all the hallmarks of an incident recorded in virtue of its exceptional nature and to add colour to Malaterra’s narrative.

In some early cases, conversion seems to have been actively discouraged. Thus, Muslim soldiers who served under Count Roger were apparently not permitted to convert to Christianity. According to Anselm’s biographer, Eadmer, many Muslim soldiers would have freely given up their beliefs and submitted to Christianity had they not dreaded Roger’s harsh cruelty towards them in reprisal.<sup>15</sup> But even if Eadmer or Anselm had overestimated the potential for baptism among Muslim soldiers, the comments on Count Roger I’s conversion restrictions make strikingly original and peculiar propaganda if they are not true. Falcandus later recalled how fighting between Muslim and Christian troops, with the former taking the brunt of the casualties, was only curtailed by the personal intervention of King William I himself.<sup>16</sup> Nonetheless, as we have seen, Muslim troops were employed into the thirteenth century and appear to have remained loyal to the king.

If 'Chamut' of Castrogiovanni had been encouraged to convert by the prospects of material gain in 1087, then it might not be wrong to consider him as the earliest example of what would become part of a not-uncommon movement among Muslims associated with the higher echelons of Christian power. Indeed, by the early *regnum* period, a sketchily-recorded pattern of conversion and reward within the elite begins to emerge. In 1141, a Greek donation described how 'Roger, who was once called Aḥmad in the religion of the Hagarenes' granted three estates to the Archbishop elect of the church of Palermo.<sup>17</sup> These had been given to him by his godfather, Count Roger II. The assumption in this case is that since mention is made of Aḥmad/Roger's conversion in the same breath as the donation of lands, that he had either received these lands because he had converted or had been allowed to retain them on conversion. This case also shows the problems that surround the tracing of converts. Had Roger, formerly known as Aḥmad, not been referred to as such in the donation, there would have been no grounds to suspect that he was a convert at all. Rather, it might have been tacitly assumed that he was merely another unknown figure from the immigrant northern European aristocracy.

### Life under 'indirect rule': the fiscal, legal and religious status of Sicilian Muslims

Although Ibn Ḡubayr had bemoaned the miserable condition of the Sicilian Muslims when he visited the island in the 1180s, they had long since surrendered to 'infidel' rule a century before with only occasional public murmurs of discontent, which was insufficient to generate any sustained military opposition. As we have seen, in the eleventh century, many Muslims had even fought alongside the Christians in what they may well have perceived as an extension of the civil war, and were perhaps now looking forward to the prospect of political stability that was lacking at the end of the Islamic period. Indeed, daily life for the majority of the population in the short term remained largely unchanged, although the villein population now found themselves to be in the possession of Christian landlords.

In return for legal security for their property and protection for themselves (*dimma*), the tax required from Muslims and Jews was higher than Christians, as non-Christian communities are thought to have paid the *ḡizya*. This is sometimes described as a form of religious poll tax based on an Islamic precedent.<sup>18</sup> Under Islamic law, 'people of the Book', that is to say Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians were granted the status of protected (*ḍimmī*) communities on signing an *aman* or treaty. Indeed, the Qur'ān states, 'fight those who do not believe . . . until they pay the *ḡizya*'.<sup>19</sup> As we have seen, in Islamic Sicily, imposition of the *ḡizya* on Christian and Jewish communities had been made at an early stage in the conquest process. On

the other hand, it is not known when the *ğizya* was first paid by Muslims in the Norman period, although the first mention of Muslim submission to the Christians ‘with oaths of fealty sworn on their books of superstition’ was in 1061 after the capture of Rometta.<sup>20</sup> However, there is little doubt that the religious, juridical and fiscal administrative systems that had previously underpinned the social structure of the non-Muslim communities were now broadly reversed. Unlike the Islamic period, evidence that Muslim *ḍimmī*-s were ‘protected’ by Christians in return for payment of the *ğizya* is somewhat rarer, although its payment is well-attested in Sicilian Ifrīqiya in the twelfth century.<sup>21</sup> It is clear from references in Malaterra that the Muslims were subject to tax (*tributum* or *census*) if they were to continue practising their religion.<sup>22</sup> Second, the same source recorded how in 1079, Muslims around Iato in north-western Sicily rebelled against their servile status and the tax (*census*) they paid.<sup>23</sup> Finally, he noted that after the fall of Noto, the Muslims there were to be granted a two-year exemption from the tax.<sup>24</sup> Although Malaterra never referred to the *ğizya* by its Arabic name, it is clear that the Sicilian Muslims were required to pay a collective tax levied in virtue of their religious status and as part of a wider treaty. Even though rates of taxation sometimes appeared to be subject to local variation and *ad hoc* arrangements, in general the evidence can be reconciled with the tenets of Islamic practice and accounts in later Arabic sources.<sup>25</sup> Thus, Ibn Ğubayr says of the Sicilian Muslims that they were subject to biannual taxes, for which he used the general term *itāwa*.<sup>26</sup> This might be a reference to payment of the *ğizya* and *qānūn* (land tax), although this is not specifically stated. Evidence that is far more explicit comes from between the years 1177 and 1179. An agreement drafted in Arabic records that three runaway Muslim villeins from Mezzoiuso who had been recaptured, collectively agreed to make a *ğizya* payment of thirty *rubāʿī* (quarter dinars) annually (*fī-l-ḥawl*) and to pay a land tax (*qānūn*) to the landlord, the Abbot of S. Giovanni degli Eremiti in Palermo.<sup>27</sup> The villeins in question confirmed that they were from among the ‘men of the registers’ (*abl al-ğarāʿid*), a specific reference to the records issued to landlords by the royal fiscal administration.

A fascinating reference to the *ğizya* occurs in the twelfth-century poetry of Ibn Qalāqīs. His patron was the important Muslim community leader, *qāʿid* Abū l-Qāsim, whom he urged to save the Muslims from their oppressive burden of their taxes.<sup>28</sup> Abū l-Qāsim appears to have had a working connection with the *magister regie duane*, *qāʿid* Richard, in the fiscal administration during the turbulent political times around 1168. Abū l-Qāsim, also a master of the royal *dīwān*, is attested by Ibn Ğubayr in 1185 to have recently been deposed from a post ‘carrying out royal tasks’ (*li-ašğāli-hi al-sultāniyya*).<sup>29</sup> However, as Michael Brett has pointed out, this phrase has fiscal connotations of which Ibn Ğubayr, as secretary to the governor of Córdoba, would have been aware. Thus, he has suggested that

his job description might equally be translated as ‘the collection of the regalian taxes for which he was responsible’.<sup>30</sup> Evidence for the *ġizya* continues into the thirteenth century when in 1239 Frederick II ordered that the canon (*qānūn*) and *gesia* (*ġizya*) be collected from the *qā’id* and from all the Muslims of Lucera on behalf of the *curia*. Certain Muslims there were exempted from its payment and others are even attested as having converted to avoid paying it.<sup>31</sup> Although explicit evidence for the payment of the *ġizya* is not in abundance, there is little doubt that it was levied collectively on the wider Sicilian Muslim community. In addition, at some time, Abū l-Qāsim may have been involved in coordinating this collection on behalf of the fiscal administration.

The collective levying of the *ġizya* raises an intriguing question. If, as we shall see, some Muslims had converted or others left their lands for the relative safety of the south-west of the island, then the amount of tax due from the remaining Muslims would, per capita, have increased. Perhaps, after a century or so of such demographic change, the Muslims’ tax burden had slowly begun to bite? Also, rigorous collection of the *ġizya* may have varied depending on the available funds of a particular landlord. Was the tax less zealously farmed in practice for Muslims living on crown land than it was for those who had been conceded to churches or individual landlords? There is no evidence to move this debate forward, although it is now accepted that the *ġizya* was paid in principle, but it is unclear who actually paid it in practice.

In mid-1180s’ Palermo, Ibn Ġubayr recalled innumerable mosques (*masġid-s*), in which teachers of the Qur’ān kept themselves apart from their Muslim brethren who were under the protection (*dimma*), and therefore the taxes, of Christian rule. As a consequence and as we might have expected, we are told that they had no security for themselves, their money, wives or children.<sup>32</sup> It is not known how many Muslim community leaders had stepped outside the tax-for-protection mechanism, but those who did exposed themselves to great personal pressures and the threat of being stripped of their wealth with impunity.<sup>33</sup> This evidence also highlights at least one group of important Muslim community leaders who were taking a more hard-line approach towards ‘infidel’ rule in the mid-1180s.

Apart from payment of the *ġizya*, terms of service for Muslim villeins were not necessarily worse than for the other communities, although some landlords were keener to attract Latin settlers than others.<sup>34</sup> There exist eight villein registers between 1145 and 1183 in which specific categories of villein are mentioned, not all of which have been published, let alone published adequately.<sup>35</sup> Much of this evidence comes from registers of household heads within particular areas, and which were usually written in Arabic and Greek to confirm the contents of a royal donation. However, landlords are also known to have derived their own, more practical, lists on which they included information relating to revenues due from the

villeins.<sup>36</sup> These will be the subject of detailed examination in subsequent chapters.

It should not be assumed that the proliferation of different terms of reference for villeins employed across three languages correspond to an equal number of divisions since many of the terms appear to have been used synonymously. Moreover, the finer divisions between villein types cannot now be retrieved for the simple lack of pertinent evidence. While a full discussion of these is not directly relevant to the questions of language and religion, an outline is helpful to understanding the status of Muslim villeins and their relationship to the crown or their landlord.

In spite of a number of problems surrounding the interpretation of different categories, analogies with Islamic and Byzantine practices, the extent of local variation and administrative evolution with time, the following broad divisions may be inferred.<sup>37</sup> The *muls* ('smooth') appear to have been landless villeins granted from royal demesne who owed service with respect to the terms of their tenure. In theory, they paid the *ġizya*, although it is quite possible that many may not have been able to afford to do so. They were also known in Latin and Greek as *inscriptitii* and *ἐξώγραφοι*. The *hurs* ('rough') were villeins who owed hereditary service. They were able to hold land and were also known as *riġāl al-ġarā'id*, *ἄνθρωποι τῆς πλατείας*, *adscriptitii* or *ἐναπόγραφοι*. The *riġāl al-maḥallāt* ('men of the villages') are more problematic, and are not now thought to have been equivalent to the Latin *burgenses*. Rather, they may have been 'indigenous' villeins in the sense of being tied to the estates on which they were born and were neither immigrants nor were they new to that particular part of the island, and had perhaps agreed to pay their taxes collectively, unlike the *riġāl al-ġarā'id* who paid according to what was expected from each household. Finally, we find the category of *riġāl al-ġurabā'* ('alien men') who were new-comers to an area and probably had similar rights and obligations to the *muls*. These were also known in Greek and Latin respectively as *ξένοι* or *advenae*. It was in the interests of both landlords and the fiscal administration to limit the movements of the existing villein population, attempt to retrieve fugitives and register newly-weds while attracting newcomers on to the land and therefore into taxable categories.

The legal status of Sicilian Muslims linked them to their religious and fiscal status with evidence pointing to the continued use of Islamic *šarī'a* law to decide matters of custom or civil dispute that arose within Muslim communities. Thus, in 1090 the Muslims of Malta agreed peace terms according to 'the custom of their own law'; presumably a *ġizya-dimma* arrangement.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, in 1168, Latins, Greeks, Jews and Muslims were said to be judged 'each against his own law'.<sup>39</sup> In cases between Muslims and non-Muslims, swearing on the Qur'an and the use of Islamic law was still respected as valid. References to the use of Islamic law can also be



found in two Palermitan house-sale agreements drafted in Arabic from 1190 and 1196.<sup>40</sup> In the latter case, the deal was struck between Muslim and Christian parties. So too in the late 1170s when three Muslim villeins took a pledge on the Qur'ān in the presence of their landlord that they would 'neither disdain nor desert their lord, nor would they ever dissent from the church's obedience'.<sup>41</sup>

As in 'orthodox' Sunnī Ifrīqiya, Sicilian Muslim jurists predominantly adhered to the Mālikī school of Islamic law and it is not coincidental that the earliest Muslim force to invade Sicily was under the command of the leading Mālikī authority, Asad bin al-Furāt. Similarly, a number of eminent Mālikī jurists of Sicilian origin are also attested in the Islamic period. These included the *imām* al-Māzarī (d.1141) whose influential religious opinions argued that judgements pronounced by Muslim magistrates appointed by 'infidels' in Christian Sicily had legal force and should be obeyed conditionally.<sup>42</sup> This was consistent with 'the typical opinion of the Mālikī school that any government was better than none', in contrast to the more militant philosophy of the Almoravids and Almohads that was spreading across North Africa.<sup>43</sup> Thus, Muslim *qādī*-s (magistrates), attested in Sicily throughout the twelfth century, retained both social status and legal authority within their own religious communities.<sup>44</sup> Hence, an important connection may be made between the Sicilian fiscal administration and the Muslims' legal standing that defined their place within a society structured along religious lines. It is thus quite evident that the Islamic community continued to operate under a type of indirect rule, its judicial and religious practices theoretically guaranteed in return for a higher tax burden and a reversal of its former prestige social status.

Although there can be no doubting that the creation of social, fiscal and legal divisions according to religion and the degree of autonomy that indirect rule afforded, significantly contributed to the preservation of Muslim consciousness, identity and sense of community, the extent to which Islamic practices actually continued is more debatable. At least in the Val di Mazara, where numbers of Muslims were most concentrated, daily life under Christian rule appears to have persisted without substantial change. Thus, as late as the mid-1180s, Ibn Ġubayr marvelled at the Christians' tolerant disregard (*iġdā'*) of a noisy religious procession in Trapani.<sup>45</sup> However, many settlements in the network of tiny villages in that area must have been too small to have sustained any complex religious infrastructure characteristic of the larger towns in the west, such as Trapani. Besides which, there are doubts whether the type of religious procession that happened in Trapani could have been entertained in towns further east. There are even doubts as to whether some key Islamic practices took place publicly. For example, Ibn Ġubayr recalled the sound of the *muezzin* calling the faithful to prayer a short distance outside Palermo, but he also mentioned that it had been some time since he had heard it last.<sup>46</sup>

This might strike us as slightly odd given that he had already passed through three large towns of Termini, Cefalù and Messina along the northern coast. He then reached Palermo, the former capital and cultural centre of Islamic life pre-1061, but in spite of his arrival in the middle of the holy month of Ramadan, he related that the Muslims there had managed to preserve only a trace (*rasm*) of their faith.<sup>47</sup> Again, this is surprising given that the reported strength of the Muslim communities was clearly increasing, the further west he went. He then reports that they maintained their mosques and again he noticed the prayer call which was also answered by the prayers of the faithful – the absolute minimum one might have expected from the capital's Muslim community. However, he neglects to mention that any of them were observing the fast during the holy month – one of the five defining 'pillars' of Islam. This might have provided an easy and obvious antidote to soothe the minds of any readers who shared Ibn Ğubayr's concerns that the Sicilian Muslims had been led astray by the temptation of apostasy, an issue he mentions more than once. He also noted the existence of countless small mosques and a single congregational mosque (*ğāmi'*) in which the Friday sermon had been banned, presumably to avoid the propagation of any politico-religious polemic that might have been given. But this appears to have undermined the point of the main weekly prayers to the extent that consequently they were not even held there.<sup>48</sup> Numerically, the Muslim community in Palermo was still quite strong, but the conduct of its religious practices may have been either restricted or neglected. As such, from the impression of Palermo that Ibn Ğubayr gives, it is impossible to tell whether the Muslims there were simply repressed or whether large sections of the Islamic community might have lost their will to go through the motions of their faith even during Ramadan.

### Ibn Ğubayr's '*Rihla*' as a historical source

Thus far, this volume is already the host of several citations from the explicit eye-witness account of the Muslim pilgrim, Ibn Ğubayr, who visited Sicily for fourteen weeks around Christmas 1184 and is a particularly important source who commented in detail about Christian–Muslim relations on the island. Although he was occasionally impressed by the levels of civility shown by the Christians towards the Muslim communities, he considered his co-religionists to live in a state of 'misery' (*maskana*) and 'humiliation' (*dull*) under Christian rule.<sup>49</sup> He cited two examples of conversion within the ruling elite, noting a degree of royal leniency towards Muslims and how the palace servants and administrative officials were nominally Christian, but actually continued to profess Islam.<sup>50</sup> Finally, he heard of the apparent dissolution of families whose sons and daughters had thrown themselves into church following family disputes.<sup>51</sup> Clearly, Ibn

Ġubayr intended these examples to illustrate a wider picture of social change. What is not so clear is whether his well-chosen examples really were typical, or conversely, whether they were singular instances recorded precisely in virtue of their exceptional nature.

Ibn Ġubayr is often used as a historical source, although he was not a historian. He was writing within two genres (*riḥla* and *‘aġā’ib*) which shaped his work, neither of which was historiographical.<sup>52</sup> As a pilgrim who recorded how he made his journey (*riḥla*) to Mecca, Ibn Ġubayr was not only conscious of his religious duty as a Muslim but also acutely aware of the differences between the *Dār al-Islām* and the *Dār al-Ḥarb*. That is to say, ‘the house of Islam’, or lands governed by Islamic law, and the ‘the house of war’ or lands that were outside Islamic law. His pro-Muslim stance is clear from his continual use of epithets invoking God to restore the island to the Muslims and lead Muslims away from temptation of apostasy. When he visited Acre in 1184, he claimed that it was packed with worshipers of crosses (*‘abadat al-ṣulbān*) and remarked that ‘it stinks and is filthy, being full of refuse and excrement’.<sup>53</sup> He referred to Baldwin IV’s mother, Agnes of Courtenay, as ‘the sow known as Queen who is the mother of this pig who is the Lord of Acre’.<sup>54</sup> Indeed, his recollection of the Sicilian port of Messina was similar, being a place which was not only ‘crammed with worshipers of crosses’ (*‘abadat al-ṣulbān*) but also cold, squalid and smelly.<sup>55</sup>

In a recent monograph, it has been suggested that the Muslim view of the Crusaders was informed by the idea that the purity of Islamic space and thought had in some way been polluted by an infidel presence.<sup>56</sup> This, in turn, helps to explain the stylized references in Muslim authors to the Christians as devils and dogs and, in particular, to the associated images of Christians, crosses, dirt and pigs. However, Ibn Ġubayr’s attitude to the Sicilian King William II was assuaged to a degree by his partiality for courtesies of Arab-Islamic inspiration. This was, according to Ibn Ġubayr, one of the many amazing things to be related from his journey. Here, we see the second genre within which Ibn Ġubayr was writing, that of *‘aġā’ib* or ‘marvels’ literature. Thus, slightly unusual or noteworthy incidents are often introduced with the phrase, ‘one of the strange(st) things that we witnessed was’ (*min al-aġrab mā; min a‘ġab mā* or *min ‘aġīb ša’n*). A relatively large proportion of sentences in his *Riḥla*, especially with regard to Sicily, begin with such phrases. For Ibn Ġubayr in Sicily, apparently very little fell into the realms of the readily comprehensible and he appears to have found his entire stay there either strange or amazing, if not confusing. This has inevitably led to some exaggerated claims. The pleasantly decorated and modestly proportioned church of the Ammiraglio, founded by George of Antioch in 1143 was, for Ibn Ġubayr, ‘without doubt the most wonderfully decorated of the earth’s constructions’.<sup>57</sup> In this case, he was clearly struck by the mosaic work of the

interior, the like of which he may not have seen before. However, of greater concern is his incredible description of Etna. He describes how the volcano would sometimes hurl a large rock into the air where it would remain supported by the strength of the blast from below which prevented it from settling back down. This, Ibn Ġubayr says, 'is one of the most amazing true things we heard'.<sup>58</sup> The phrasing of such a claim implies that some of the other amazing things reported to him may not have been true. Other of Ibn Ġubayr's 'marvels', true or otherwise, include the observation that King William II reads and writes in Arabic; his employment of Muslims in the royal palaces; their covert prayer routines designed to conceal their faith from the king, and that the Christian Frankish women in the palace at Messina had become Muslim, converted in secret by servant girls. In spite of some of the more 'amazing' elements of his work which must naturally be treated with a degree of caution, we shall see how in other respects Ibn Ġubayr's account can be corroborated, and also shown that some of the 'strange' things he reported were not actually so strange after all. As such, it remains one of the most important narrative sources for twelfth-century Sicily.

#### Muslim administrators and Arab-Islamic traditions

Evidence for Muslims and Arabic speakers in high office as well as influence from Islamic chancery traditions is most apparent in the fiscal administration that provided a fundamental source of revenue for the ruling elite. The earliest records from the Norman period date from the mid-1090s when a number of villein registers documented the names of men granted to landlords. Two registers in which names were recorded in Arabic still survive in their original format.<sup>59</sup> Although at this stage many of the administrative fiscal structures of the post-1130 *regnum* period had yet to be created, these villein registers (*ġarā'id al-riġāl*, sing. *ġarīda*; in Greek, *plateia*) bear some of the same characteristics of later confirmations. For example, the early registers tended to be written in a combination of Arabic and Greek although, unlike many later confirmations, the names in Arabic were not transcribed into Greek. Also included on a bilingual register issued to the abbot of the church of Catania in 1095 was a clause in Greek stating that any villein cited on other lists of the Count's or of other landlords should be handed over. That is to say, that such villeins would automatically revert to the possession of the de Hauteville (later the royal) demesne. This same clause, in Arabic, would appear on all post-1140 confirmations with the exception of the great concessions made to the church of S. Maria Nuova of Monreale from 1178–83.

It is not clear how much of the administrative infrastructure from the Islamic period was intact for the Christians to inherit after the civil strife

and conquest period. Certainly, any early attempts to shape the island's fiscal administration were thwarted by rebellion and invasion soon after the death in 1101 of Count Roger I and in the name of Adelaide and/or Count Roger II, only two charters survive on which there is any Arabic writing.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, from 1111 till 1132, there are no extant documents containing Arabic and it is initially tempting to believe that Arabic may have been dropped as a written administrative language during this period. A possible explanation for this absence may be provided by diplomata written in Greek. In the pre-*regnum* period, many Greek diplomata were written on paper and only one has survived.<sup>61</sup> Unlike parchment, paper is far less durable and the mandate issued on paper to S. Filippo di Fragalà in March 1109 had to be redrafted shortly afterwards under Adelaide and Count Roger II on parchment, thereby suggesting that the rate of original deterioration had been rapid. Paper documents were also used as standard in contemporary Islamic chanceries and in Sicily, Ibn Ḥawqal had recalled in 973 how part of the papyrus supply in Palermo was used by the ruler's administration.<sup>62</sup> Thus, there is a reasonable possibility that charters written in Arabic for the period 1111–32 have not survived because they were drafted on paper and not parchment. That said, no subsequent reference to *deperdita* survives either. Nonetheless, after the political unification of the mainland, the development of Palermo as a centre of administrative gravity in the late 1120s and the crowning of Roger II as King in the newly-built cathedral, charters written in Arabic began to re-emerge. These new royal diplomata were written in an 'elegant and highly professional *dīwānī* script',<sup>63</sup> the first example being found in a bilingual Arabic-Greek boundary register dating from 1133.<sup>64</sup>

The role of Arabic-speaking administrators under Adelaide/Count Roger II is slightly less unclear than the fate of Arabic as an administrative language during the same period. The principal source in any language is the Egyptian author al-Maqrīzī (1364–1441) whose work, known as the *Kitāb al-Muqaffā*, gives a brief biography for George of Antioch. It is clear from this and his well-attested presence around the King, that George was instrumental in the establishment of the kingdom in the 1130s and the administrative reforms in the 1140s.<sup>65</sup> Al-Maqrīzī noted how George had been in the employment of the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople before working for the Zirid ruler Tamīm bin al-Mu'izz bin Bādīs (d. 1108). Tamīm's son, Yaḥyā, however, had ordered the strangling of George's adolescent brother, whose name is recorded as S.m.ʿān (Simon?). Thus, shortly after Yaḥyā's accession, 'George wrote to the sultan ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the minister (*wazīr*) of King Roger, the son of Roger, King of the Franks known as Abū Tillīs,<sup>66</sup> master (*ṣāhib*) of the island of Sicily and bid him to send him a military vessel in which to escape'. Al-Maqrīzī continues to narrate that:

‘Abd al-Raḥmān favoured them [George and his family] and put them in charge of the *dīwān*-s in Sicily ... and sent him as an emissary (*rasūl*) numerous times to Egypt. George kept discrediting (*lam yazal yasa‘ī bi-l-sultān*) the sultan ‘Abd al-Raḥmān until Roger arrested him, had him put in an iron cage and killed him. For his vizirate and as his chancery secretary (*kātib al-inšā’*) he appointed Abū l-Ḍaw’, who was a man of letters<sup>67</sup> (*min ahl al-adab*) and so did not assume power. Rather, he put George in charge of the administration. He gathered revenues (*ḡama‘a al-‘amwāl*), organised the foundations of the realm (*qawā‘id al-mulk*), hid Roger from his subjects and had him dress like Muslims.

Al-Maqrīzī proceeds to observe George’s titles (including *amīr al-umarā’*) and how Sicilian forces expanded into North Africa under his direction.<sup>68</sup> We know that George preferred to sign his own name in Greek but both al-Tiḡānī and Ibn Khaldūn recorded him as knowing Arabic well, as we might have expected given his North African connections.<sup>69</sup> His linguistic and cultural background seems to be reflected in the church of S. Maria dell’Ammiraglio, which he founded in 1143. The church interior, the same one that had been enthusiastically described by Ibn Ḡubayr, contains both Byzantine mosaics and a Greek hymn to the Virgin Mary translated into Arabic.<sup>70</sup> An Arabic inscription on a pillar does not seem incongruous in a church of such eclectic tastes and with a mosaic of King Roger labelled in Greek letters as ‘Rogerios Rex’ – a conspicuous mixture of Greek and Latin.<sup>71</sup> It may not be coincidental that George of Antioch appeared to embody the same cultural and linguistic blend as the reorganized administration of the 1140s over which he presided, given that he had been instrumental in its very reformation.

A number of key administrators cited above in the immediate pre-*regnum* period c.1108–c.1129 had Arabic names and were most probably Arabic speakers. Apart from George of Antioch, very little is known, either of them, or of their activities. We might also include among these the *amīr* Christodoulos, who was frequently mentioned in Greek and Latin documents until 1125 and can be identified with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘the Christian’ mentioned in al-Maqrīzī.<sup>72</sup> However, according to al-Tiḡānī, it was a certain ‘Abdallāh al-Naṣrānī who gave George his post in Sicily while he was the *ṣāhib al-aṣḡāl*.<sup>73</sup> As for the poet and scribe Abū l-Ḍaw’, little direct information is known, but there is good reason to identify him with Abū l-Ḍaw’ al-Sirāḡ b. Aḥmad b. Raḡā’. In which case, some verses written by him and others dedicated to him survive.<sup>74</sup> The most significant of these from a historical perspective is a fragment that laments the death of King Roger’s eldest son, Roger, Duke of Apulia in May 1148. Abū l-Ḍaw’, like George of Antioch, also had an important connection with the Zirid administration as correspondence with his

academic friend, Abū l-Ṣalt Umayya shows.<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, individuals bearing the same family name as Abū l-Ḍaw' appear in positions of influence within the Sicilian Muslim community until the early 1160s about whom we know nothing.<sup>76</sup> Indeed, what Abū l-Ḍaw' was doing between the mid-1120s and 1148 remains unknown and we can only presume he, like al-Maqrīzī implies, did not take up high office in the *dīwān*, but preferred to study the arts.

Clearly, a number of unresolved difficulties remain with the precise identification of these characters such as Abū l-Ḍaw' and Christodoulos/ 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and what functions they actually performed. Nonetheless, it is quite evident that Arabic speakers (probably a mixture of Christians, converts and Muslims) were instrumental in the skeletal administration of the pre-*regnum* period. However, as we shall see, the influence of this generation would soon be overhauled by that of Latin administrators, 'palace Saracens' and noblemen who were not natives of Sicily.

After the formal establishment of the kingdom in 1130 with the coronation of Roger II, there followed almost two decades of piecemeal administrative reform. This included the adoption of formulaic epithets in Arabic on royal deeds and coinage.<sup>77</sup> The source from which some of these reforms were inspired, including the use of '*alāma*-s ('insignia/signatures') that appeared on all post-1133 royal Arabic diplomata; the *dīwānī* script used by the Arabic scribes and the name of chancery office in which many of them were employed, can all be traced to Fatimid Egypt.<sup>78</sup> In the early 1140s, a decision was taken to call in all the previously issued villein registers for examination by the chancery. After 1149, if not before, registers were then re-issued as confirmations under the supervision of the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma'mūr*, which acted on the royal command.<sup>79</sup> The creation of this office, responsible for the compiling, issuing, inspecting and updating of fiscal registers of lands and men was by far the most significant change in these reforms. This innovation probably took place around 1144, but no later than 1149 from when we have the first document bearing its name. The *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma'mūr* was the engine-room of the kingdom's finances and provided the administrative cohesion that connected the king to his landlords, and the landlords to their villeins. This office seemed to have been staffed mainly by Arabic speakers, but must also have employed scribes who knew Greek and Latin. Later chapters will examine the operations and products of this office in detail, as well as significant evidence that its bilingual registers provide for the Sicilian Arabic question.

### The Muslims, the Sicilian kings and the *Trinacria* topos

The surviving art and architecture of the royal palaces and foundations shows the lengths to which the kings were prepared to go in order to give

the impression of legitimate authority in every direction both within and outside the kingdom. Yet, the precise significance of the kingdom's artistic legacy and propaganda remains unclear, as do the roles played by Arab-Islamic influences in the royal household and administration. There was a sense in which the newly-unified kingdom consisted of three parts (Latin, Byzantine Greek and Arab-Muslim) drawn from the cultures of mainland Europe, the Mediterranean and the lands of Islam. These divisions roughly corresponded to the kingdom's three main languages and those used in the royal palaces and administration, namely Latin, Greek and Arabic. However, it is not clear whether the ways in which these were borrowed can be said to have constituted part of an elaborate royal motif designed to emphasize Sicily's tripartite nature, and which drew on ideas from the much older Classical period. For example, we find a classical allusion to the 'three-tongued Sicilians' by the poet Peter of Eboli and references in Falcandus and Peter of Blois to Sicily by its ancient name of *Trinacria*, or 'three-cornered', which show how such ideas were in wider circulation by the latter third of the twelfth century, if not before.<sup>80</sup> The former's illustrations also show scribes and the people of Palermo as clearly divisible into three distinct types, where figures were broadly based around Greek, Arab-Muslim and Latin stereotypes. However, a classical source need not have provided the inspiration for the recurring articulation of ideas based around the number three as a contemporary, and perhaps parallel, example might be found in the ways the Fatimids constructed an elaborate cosmography revolving around the number seven.<sup>81</sup>

Under Roger II, trilingual inscriptions and Arab-Islamic, Byzantine and Romanesque architectural and decorative styles in the royal chapel and palaces could be interpreted as an attempt to reconcile the recent unification of the realm with the reality of a society divided by religion, language, politics and culture.<sup>82</sup> However, even if such an understanding is correct, the temptation to confound this with notions of religious tolerance is best avoided.<sup>83</sup> The undoubted effect that the calculated adoption of these cosmetic and imported accoutrements has had is to distort the ways in which we might attempt to understand the relationship between the king and his subjects. In particular, the propagandist elements cast a veil between the kingdom's Islamic communities and a kingship that was clearly indebted to Arab-Islamic traditions and relied heavily on the employment of Muslim or ex-Muslim administrators. Quite how a kingship as self-reflexive of Roger II's that appeared to proclaim the ideal of linguistic, artistic and cultural diversity within the setting of a harmonious Christian kingdom could ever have been compatible with a society through which a religious fault line ran, will remain unknown, and even unknowable. Whatever the essence of the kingship was, modern interpretations of it are never likely to add up to a consistent whole, for while some aspects emphasized the kingdom's unity, others betrayed its opposing diversities.



Thus, the Sicilian kings' description of themselves in epithets and formulae tended to present Muslim-Christian relations as rival dogmas, with the kings as supporters of Christianity and, in turn, helped by God. For example, Count Roger I's wife and later regent, Adelaide, was described in Arabic in 1109 as 'the defender of the Christian faith'.<sup>84</sup> In 1117, as a young Count, Roger II described himself as 'agent of the Christians and slave of Jesus Christ',<sup>85</sup> while Greek chancery signatures described him as, 'in Christ the Lord a holy, mighty King and helper of the Christians'.<sup>86</sup> The famous royal mantle dated to 1133-4 which depicts lions attacking camels, might also be interpreted figuratively as Christians dominating Muslims.<sup>87</sup> Some royal epithets were borrowed from Arab-Islamic tradition but had the Islamic elements stripped out of them. For example, the Muslim *šahāda* or testimony of faith was removed from Sicilian coinage at an early stage, so that, by the 1140s, standard royal epithets were formulae that constantly stressed the association of Christ and the King's authority.<sup>88</sup> Arabic chancery sources began to celebrate the King's royal orders as officially 'strengthened by God, supported by His power and victorious by His force',<sup>89</sup> while William II was considered as the 'defender of the pope at Rome' and 'protector of the Christian faith'.<sup>90</sup> As some of these formulae were adapted from contemporary Islamic chancery models and only appeared in their unabridged forms in Arabic, one wonders about the direction in which this type of propaganda was aimed, who might have been able to read it, and the positive and negative effects it might have had.

### The 'palace Saracens' and religious ambiguity

One of the characteristic features of the Sicilian kingship, and one which clearly places it firmly in the realms of southern Mediterranean, while at the same time separating it from any northern European model, was the employment of eunuchs.<sup>91</sup> In the case of Sicily, these eunuchs were Muslims who had been converted to Christianity. Thus, the palace, much of the fiscal administration and even some military posts were managed by a number of specially-trained functionaries, known collectively in Latin sources as the 'palace Saracens'. All were required, in theory, to have renounced Islam and most had adopted Latinate or Frankish baptismal names on conversion to Christianity. The many references to them in Latin and Arabic sources tell us the 'palace Saracens' were castrated; and on whether this castration was 'total' or merely involved the removal of the testicles, Ibn Ġubayr specifically relates that the palace Saracens were indeed '*fityān maġābib*'.<sup>92</sup> Thus, among others helping to run the royal administration, we find Martin, Philip, Peter and Richard, all of whom were completely castrated, nominally Christian converts.

It would seem that they were plucked from Sicilian colonies in Ifrīqiya with whom they maintained some political contacts and influence.<sup>93</sup> However, it is possible that the maverick island of Djerba off the eastern coast of modern Tunisia may have served as the main recruiting ground. The island was renowned amongst Muslim authors for its independent spirit and a partiality for piracy.<sup>94</sup> Al-Idrīsī observed that the Djerbans were Berber-speaking Kharijites who knew no other language.<sup>95</sup> It was also home to a large Jewish minority. Djerba's population was twice deported during the reign of Roger II in 1135 and 1153–4 and al-Idrīsī specifically stated that they were taken to al-Madīna, that is to say, to Palermo itself.<sup>96</sup> Indeed, the treatment of the island at the hands of the Sicilians was quite unlike other places in North Africa.<sup>97</sup> The letter of the Fatimid Caliph, al-Ḥāfīz, addressed to Roger II and dated to 1137–8, even applauds the Sicilian's routing of this renegade island two year's previously.<sup>98</sup> According to Ibn Abī Dīnār, Roger II made the population his *khawal* or 'servants' in 1135.<sup>99</sup>

Some, if not all, of the 'palace Saracens' received an education within the palace complex and at least one, Philip of Mahdiyya, is described as having been brought up from childhood as a Christian.<sup>100</sup> It may be presumed that the top 'palace Saracens' were among the brightest and best-educated men of their day. These slaves also facilitated an autocratic style of government that was perfectly consistent with contemporary southern Mediterranean models. Since they were entirely dependent on the King for his grace and favour, they were an essential part of the kingship and, leaving aside hostile Latin sources, appear to have been devoted to it.

One of the worst-kept secrets in the kingdom was that the 'palace Saracens' continued to practise Islam even though they were supposed to be Christian; even though, after mid-1148, provision had been made for all palace staff to be buried in the church of San Giovanni degli Eremiti.<sup>101</sup> A marginal note in Romuald's *Chronicon* referring to Philip of Mahdiyya commented that 'he appeared to be Christian, but in mind and deed he was completely Muslim', a sentiment even echoed by contemporary Arabic sources.<sup>102</sup> Hugo Falcandus described how *qā'id* Peter, 'was Christian in appearance and name only, but in spirit was Muslim just like all the palace eunuchs'.<sup>103</sup> As we have seen, Ibn Ḡubayr recalled that many palace staff, including some of William II's ministers, were covertly Muslim. Although the testimony of both Latin and Arabic sources concerning the 'deceitful' religious practices of the 'palace Saracens' is itself quite clear, many awkward questions can still be raised about their faith. Who had taught them the precepts of Islam in the palace? If they had been brought up as Christian converts no later than from the age of adolescence, did they necessarily consider this new-found religion with hostility? Should we regard their pro-Muslim views as uniformly typical? As a caveat on this point, we might note that the eunuch Richard was said by the Bishop of

Patti to have been the brother, patron and protector of his church, thereby undermining the idea that he actually was a covert Muslim.<sup>104</sup> We might also note that it was certainly as much in the interests of the Latin contingents to depict the eunuchs as treacherous and unreliable as it was for Muslim sources to be told that they were actually a sort of resistance movement, fighting the infidel system from the inside, contrary to appearances. Yet, in spite of these reservations about the ‘palace Saracens’, perhaps the important point is that there can be little doubt that their religious persuasions were repeatedly perceived to be ambiguous by all sides.

The top eunuchs were significant political power brokers and essential to the smooth running of the administration and their position was suitably and predictably precarious. The first, and perhaps most spectacular attested demise of a ‘palace Saracen’ was that of Philip of Mahdiyya in 1153 whose case we shall discuss shortly. In 1161, the palace complex was sacked, an attack in which many (presumably lower-order) eunuchs were killed. The general massacre of Muslims that ensued in Palermo and elsewhere unveiled Muslim vulnerability but was avenged in part by the eunuch *qā'id* Martin, who put many Christians on trial while William I was on the mainland putting down the rebels.<sup>105</sup> Prior to this, but after the murder of Maio, a ‘palace Saracen’ called Andrew was, ‘along with several others’, successfully tortured in order to extract information concerning Maio’s alleged embezzlement of royal treasures.<sup>106</sup> In 1163, the eunuch Ġawhār was tortured and then was forced to drown, having allegedly stolen the royal seals, a particularly interesting accusation given the palace Saracens’ role in the royal *diwān* and the potential for forgery that this alleged action would have facilitated, if true.<sup>107</sup> But perhaps the best-known ‘palace Saracen’ was Peter, who succeeded Ġawhār as Master Chamberlain, was then put in charge of the fleet and allegedly had a close relationship with the Spanish Queen Margaret. Like Philip before him, his political weakness was exposed when he was outside Palermo and he eventually fled to the Maġrib following an unsuccessful naval assault on Mahdiyya in 1167.<sup>108</sup> In their capacity as magistrates and even as military commanders, the ‘palace Saracens’ are reported to have taken advantage of their office by favouring Muslims or articulating the views of their co-religionists with whom they most apparently identified.

### The trial and execution of Philip of Mahdiyya

The trial and execution of Philip during the holy month of Ramadan in December 1153 sheds light on a number of complex issues relating to the conversion question, palace politics and the outlook of Roger II in his dying days. The events come to us via two quite independent accounts; one Latin, one Arabic. The Latin version appears in a lengthy marginal note,

apparently made in the twelfth or early thirteenth century, which appears in Romuald of Salerno's *Chronicon*, and recounts how Philip was brought up personally from childhood by Roger II.<sup>109</sup> The discovery that Philip had sent oil to Medina for lanterns at the tomb of Muḥammad and had ingratiated himself with the *imām* there, so outraged Roger that Philip was ordered to be dragged around by wild horses and burned alive outside the palace. Indeed, the so-called 'Assizes of Ariano' bear witness to the perceived seriousness of apostasy.<sup>110</sup>

The less dramatic Arabic version of events is provided by Ibn al-Aṭīr who tells how Philip had leniently treated Muslims during the siege and capture of the North African town of Būna which had resulted in Philip's downfall on return to Palermo.<sup>111</sup> In this account, we are also told that Philip's death was 'the first blow dealt to the Muslims'. The Latin and Arabic versions pass through many shared points of agreement and although they give different reasons for Philip's arrest, both are clear that it came to involve a religious matter. However, we are also informed by Romuald that it was not just Philip who was punished in this incident as he categorically states that, 'other accomplices and associates in his wickedness suffered a capital sentence'.<sup>112</sup> Clearly, Muslims who might have acted in such a way could hardly have been accused of wrong-doing. Indeed, under the kingdom's laws they could not have been tried in a Christian court over this type of religious matter. Thus, the most likely co-accused would have been other 'palace Saracens' and servants associated with Philip, who are mentioned by Ibn al-Aṭīr and who were theoretically Christian. Between the two texts, there is thus a suggestion that there may have been a wider purge of 'palace Saracens' around Philip in late 1153.

There remains, however, the vexed issue of how the political and religious motive forces behind this incident relate to the political and religious consequences that arose from it. Here, some points are clearer than others. We can infer, for example, that the suppression of 'palace Saracens', on whose *savoir-faire* the new King William's administration would have been heavily dependent, came only three months before Roger II's death at the end of February 1154, in what appears to have been a succession period that was highly-charged with political and religious machinations. Romuald records how towards the end of his life, Roger had given up secular affairs and worked in every way to convert Muslims and Jews whom he richly rewarded with gifts.<sup>113</sup> The two actions may be understood as associated. Thus, if we know when Roger retired from secular affairs, we might also infer a terminus date for this alleged conversion policy. The most likely dates for his retirement strongly converge on the years 1152–3, when his inexperienced son William had been successfully installed as joint-ruler a year or so earlier and when the new chancery head, Maio, was exercising an exceptional degree of independence within the administration. Moreover, Roger himself may

have been suffering from ill health around this time.<sup>114</sup> A proposed retirement date for Roger of 1152–3 would provide an illuminating context for the death of Philip given that he was executed in December 1153 only three months before Roger's own death.

It is initially tempting to regard Philip's execution and the possible purge of the 'palace Saracens' as victims of Roger's alleged conversion drive. Indeed, if we combine this conclusion with Ibn al-Aṭīr's remark that Philip's death was 'the first blow dealt to the Muslims', then the incident might also be regarded as a significant turning-point in wider Muslim–Christian relations on the island. The problem is that it is difficult to reconcile this episode with a genuine change of direction in royal policy. There is, for example, no other explicit evidence from this period relating to converts who, according to Romuald, had been so richly bestowed with gifts.

Even so, the purge of 'palace Saracens' at the end of Roger II's reign served as a reminder to all Muslims of their political debility while strengthening the increasingly powerful hand of 'Latin' forces around the new king who had been quick to learn that to attack the 'palace Saracens' was indirectly to undermine the kingship itself. Indeed, from the early 1160s, the Latin nobility in the form of the *familiares regis* managed to interpose themselves between the king and his eunuchs. Thus, although Philip's death may not have been part of a wider conversion policy, it marked an early stage in the longer-term political development of the island that would ultimately affect all its Muslims. Yet in spite of changing political circumstances, there remained at least a certain consistency over the treatment and ambivalent status of the 'palace Saracens'. Their dubious and precarious religious position had continued, or more precisely, had been allowed to continue, largely uninterrupted from Roger II's time to his grandson William's without any fundamental adjustments to royal policy. In this case, an apparent lack of clear royal directive may have been less irresolute than deliberately relaxed and had probably emerged from the same continued need to rely on the administrative acumen of the 'palace Saracens' whose total dependence on the crown gave them a vested interest in its success and earned them more royal trust than was accorded to many of the ambitious Latin aristocracy around the king. Indeed, given that the eunuchs fitted so naturally into the context of culturally Islamophile kings and palaces, the extent to which the king ran his kingdom in the same way that he ran his household makes for a fascinating, albeit speculative, analogy.

### Arabic, Islam and *taqiya*

The well-attested religious practices of the 'palace Saracens' are intriguing since Islam has a number of restraints designed to deter the faithful from

abandoning their faith. While conversion to Islam is a relatively straightforward matter, conversion from Islam is altogether much harder.<sup>115</sup> The Qur'ān may be interpreted as decreeing that apostasy (*irtidād* or *ridda*) incurs the 'wrath of God,' 'except if one has done it under compulsion and one's heart is steadfast in belief'- an important proviso for those forced to change their faith.<sup>116</sup> Stemming from this is the notion of *taqiya* or the dissimulation of one's faith under duress.<sup>117</sup> Although *taqiya* was not commonly exercised in the Islamic world, it is generally recognised in Islamic thought and by all the main religious factions. In effect, it allows Muslims to profess a religion other than Islam while secretly adhering to their original faith. This appears to be precisely the strategy the 'palace Saracens' chose to adopt.

The significance of the 'palace Saracens' goes some way beyond simple examples of religious conversion because their behaviour signalled religious ambivalence as an acceptable if compromised response to the problem of how to react under rule by an infidel Christian force. The long-standing royal policy of ambiguity and qualified tolerance towards the majority of them as only nominally Christian also highlights the emergence of a conspicuous group whose dubious religious status was permitted to hover somewhere between Christian and Muslim. As we shall see, other Sicilian Muslims appear to have pursued the same policy, and for those happy to subordinate their religious beliefs to their career prospects, there was much to be gained by this ploy.

### The convert Ibn Zur'a

Ibn Ġubayr recalled how some Muslim community leaders (*ašyākh*) were made to leave their faith and recounted one such example that had occurred in recent years. His comments are particularly helpful in a number of ways. First, they give the distinct impression that pressure to convert that had been targeted at the Muslim elite, and that this had been an ongoing process. Second, it is quite clear that, in spite of the resistance by Abū l-Qāsim, other Muslim leaders had been taking up the rewards on offer, about which Ibn Ġubayr gives us a detailed account.<sup>118</sup> A certain jurist called Ibn Zur'a, of whom we know nothing outside this incident, was persuaded to convert by officials (*al-ummāl*), after which he was to give opinions (*istifā*), perhaps exceptionally, in legal cases for both Muslims and Christians. It is not clear why a convert was required for this, but there may have been a dearth of judiciaries capable of presiding over Arabic-speaking Christian courts, while Islamic law schools had always provided a rich source of jurists. The tone of this passage in Ibn Ġubayr suggests that, of any such accounts, this was perhaps the most notable, and it should therefore not be taken that such recruitment into the Christian judiciary was standard practice.

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Ibn Zur'a owned a mosque (*masğid*) opposite his house which, after his conversion, he then converted into a church.<sup>119</sup> We can only presume that this church, which may have been a simple, devotional place of worship, still resembled a mosque, but no mention is made of the congregation it now attracted. The church-to-mosque transition in Sicily was not unknown and we are aware of a couple of definite examples, and several other possible cases. In 973, Ibn Ḥawqal had described how the great congregational mosque in Palermo had once been a Greek church and quite possibly an ancient Greek temple prior to that.<sup>120</sup> William of Apulia then tells us that exactly a century later, Robert Guiscard destroyed and converted the main mosque to a church devoted to the Virgin Mother: 'where there was once the seat of Muḥammad and his demons, he set the throne of God'.<sup>121</sup> From among the Arabic sources, Ibn Ḥamdīs recalled in the late eleventh century that the Christians had 'changed mosques into churches'.<sup>122</sup> Finally, in 1179, Bishop Robert of Catania is known to have converted a mosque into a church dedicated to Thomas Becket.<sup>123</sup> However, if these mosques became churches, there were very many more that must have remained as mosques at least into the 1180s, and Ibn Ġubayr recalled mosques in the western towns of Termini, Qaṣr Sa'd, Palermo, Alcamo and Trapani. Whether or not we can read anything into the fact that he fails to make mention of any mosques in either Cefalù or Messina remains debatable. We also know of the al-Bārid mosque within the boundary of Corleone.<sup>124</sup> Although there is no doubt that many mosques had continued to operate into the Norman period, albeit with restrictions that may have undermined their function, they certainly did not attract any royal grants and, one might surmise, can only have been in serious decline by the end of the twelfth century.

On the other hand, the role of the church and the process of church-building need not have played a very large part in the conversion question at all. As the examples of the 'palace Saracens' and some of the Muslim elite show, conversion was rarely a matter of choice made in accordance with the dictates of one's own conscience, but could be imposed or adopted for political, social or economic motives. Indeed, the role of the Latin Church in any type of proselytizing activity was conspicuously absent in the examples of which we know. Although at least fifty Latin monasteries had been founded by the end of the Norman period, their locations were predominantly towards the east and north-eastern parts of the island and were made partly according to existing supply and demand. As such, they were poorly placed for missionary activity, hence White's conclusion that Latin monasteries 'were not intended as agents of Latinisation'.<sup>125</sup>

The example of Ibn Zur'a and his mosque conversion may reveal something of the socio-religious dynamics in Sicily and raises the point that much of the spiritual welfare of the Muslims lay in the hands of a much smaller number of individual community leaders. As such, it also provides a

possible reason why the Christians targeted the conversion of the Muslim social elite, namely that it could have provided useful leverage further down the social scale and aided the disintegration of the wider Muslim community from the top down. Throughout the Norman period, there are examples of similar types of conversions amongst the Muslim elite or community leaders, although we cannot be sure whether the policy of constantly pruning back the already depleted Muslim leadership was designed to cause a trickle-down conversion effect. There is, however, a hint in Ibn Ġubayr that conversion of Muslim community leaders was thought at the time to have the potential to set in motion a far wider trend. On the standing of the hereditary Muslim leader Abū l-Qāsim in the 1180s, he said that the Christians reckon that, if he had converted, then every other Muslim on the island would have followed him too.<sup>126</sup>

While there is reasonable evidence to suggest that the higher social groups were deliberately targeted for conversion, it is doubtful that this policy could also have been successfully applied right down the social scale. Indeed, it would have been impossible to ‘appoint’ local village shaykhs, although that is not to say that these were not influenced by events elsewhere. Thus, at village level, names of local village sheikhs in Muslim areas, *qādī*-s (‘magistrates’), *raʿīs*-s (‘heads’), *qāʿid*-s (‘leaders’) and their families that appear on villein registers reveal only one individual who seems to have been a Christian.<sup>127</sup> At the same local level of authority, there is evidence that the testimony of Christians may have been valued more than that of Muslims. If this were not the case, then we have still to explain why Christians were always mentioned before Muslims on deeds recording inquest proceedings even in the predominantly Muslim areas of western Sicily. At a local administrative level, there is very little evidence to hand that relates simultaneously to officials’ names and religious persuasion. However, the local administrative official (*strategot* or *āmil*) of Iato in the late 1140s was called Abū l-Ṭayyib, the son of Stephen (Iṣṭ.fān), whose name has a certain ring of Arab-Christianity about it, although he need not have been a local originally, nor a Christian. Before him, this post had definitely been held by a Christian, as George of Antioch is attested as *āmil* of Iato in 1114.<sup>128</sup> Generally however, there is insufficient evidence to establish that a conversion policy aimed at the Muslim leadership was systematic or far-reaching. However, an important and unique source of corroborative evidence and information that yields significant clues about social integration and shifting identities across the margins of Sicilian society can be gained from the lengthy fiscal registers. Conclusions from this vast body of onomastic evidence cannot be extracted with ease due to the very nature of this type of data; however, they show how no level of Sicilian society could escape the combined effects of several powerful social undercurrents. For this reason, chapter four will be largely devoted to the use of onomastic data as evidence for social and religious change around



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the island in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It also helps to grasp the slippery and telling problem of how, if at all, to distinguish between Sicilian Muslims, 'Arab-Christians' and 'Greeks'. Before coming to grips with this evidence, however, the equally problematic issue of terms of reference and the so-called 'ethnicity question' needs to be addressed and put in an appropriate context.

‘NORMANS’, ‘LOMBARDS’,  
‘GREEKS’, ‘ARABS’, ‘BERBERS’  
AND JEWS

**Introduction**

As Vera von Falkenhausen has argued, when each ‘ethnic’ group in Sicily is viewed in turn, none offers any sense of homogeneity.<sup>1</sup> Already in this work, the point has been made that careless use of the appellation ‘Norman’ is in danger of introducing conceptually misleading notions, particularly concerning the nature and development of authority in Sicily. In addition, Ménager has shown that a quarter of all ‘Normans’ in the kingdom were not ‘Norman’ anyway.<sup>2</sup> A similar misnomer is the tag ‘Lombard’, which is generally applied to a somewhat nebulous group of once Germanic tribes that had invaded the Italian peninsula in the sixth century. Although originally bound by shared dialects and law, by the start of the eleventh century, they were already well assimilated into the society of the southern parts of the peninsula. ‘Lombards’, as referring to settlers from the north were and are sometimes differentiated from ‘Longobards’ or the indigenous inhabitants the former southern Byzantine province of Longobardia.<sup>3</sup> To add to the complexity of the situation, many ‘Greeks’ had intermarried with ‘Lombards’ and ‘Normans’ and even with Muslims and ‘Berbers’. In all the above cases, individual instances, usually in the form of mixed names, can be cited to show that the margins of these groups were often, and probably had been for some centuries, raggedly indistinct.

While these observations raise important questions of ethnicity and consciousness that are a particular preoccupation of modern thought, there remains a wider sense in which meaningful, even defining, contrasts may still be made between different groups. Such contrasts are easier for modern observers to make in terms of language and religion, than in trying to second-guess a collective consciousness that may long-since have passed. Although the tricky question of ‘ethnicity’ is unavoidable, the establishment of such contrasts is contingent on the implication that there were tangible differences in both relationships and outlook between different groups. It was these that were most likely to have formed the basis of identity in their social environment. In this chapter, the issue of naming and identity will be

examined along with the question of the ‘Berbers’. The ‘Greek’ and Jewish communities will also be discussed, but to a lesser extent. All will be treated from the perspective of how such groups might be defined, and how they formed part of the wider Arabic-speaking community.

### Twelfth-century terms of reference

Fascinating as eleventh and twelfth-century terms of reference are, they shed remarkably little light on the problems of identification, composition and description of the various ethnic, linguistic and religious groups within the wider Arabic-speaking communities of the Norman period. However, the proliferation of terms is itself illuminating and worthy of further study. From an early time, an apparent distinction was drawn between North Africans and Sicilian Arabs. The ‘Afrikoi’ in the *Cambridge Chronicle* appears to refer to ‘North Africans’ as opposed to ‘Sicilians,’ a distinction also picked up later by Malaterra and, to a lesser extent, by Ibn al-Aṭīr. We might also note that stylistic use was often made of tautology, probably following classical precedents. For example, Amatus recorded Robert Guiscard’s aim ‘to deliver the Christians and the Catholics who are held in servitude by the Saracens’.<sup>4</sup> We shall see how such apparent distinctions are potentially misleading when considering, for example, the Berber question. In Malaterra, the *Sicilienses* generally appeared to refer to the Sicilian Muslims, but the term perhaps also referred to Christians. Thus, at the siege of Cerami in 1063, he described ‘how dense our pagan and Sicilian enemies were’.<sup>5</sup> Occasionally, he used the same term to make a geographical distinction between people from Sicily and those from Calabria.<sup>6</sup> The same difference is apparent in Amatus’s *Sicilien* and William of Apulia’s *Siculus*.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, Falcandus made contrasts on a geographical basis, juxtaposing the *Siculi* with the *Langobardi* and sometimes referring to northern Europeans as *Transalpini* or *Transmontani* or *Northomanni*. This last term was also cited by Peter of Blois.<sup>8</sup> The various connotations that the term ‘Sicilian’ had for different authors requires cautious treatment as they may be interpreted to imply a notion of ‘Sicilian-ness’ that was almost certainly premature. There was, of course, a level at which all the inhabitants of Sicily could be called ‘Sicilian’, but there is no hint that this expressed a wider Sicilian consciousness, rather than simply referring to a geographical division. Moreover, the *Sicilienses* and *Siculi* of the early Latin authors do not seem to have been terms widely favoured by later authors. The appeal in the ‘Letter to Peter, the Treasurer of the church of Palermo’ for Sicilian unity in the face of what he calls a ‘Teutonic’ invasion shows that there could have been no such unity at the time of the appeal. The implication that Sicily was still profoundly fragmented in every conceivable way at the end of the twelfth century, suggests that no wider sense of Sicilian consciousness is likely to have developed under such circumstances. As a

geographical tag in Arabic, we commonly find *al-Ṣiqillī* applied to both Muslim emigrants and even to villeins throughout the Norman period.<sup>9</sup> When Queen Margaret's favourite 'palace Saracen', *qā'id* Peter, fled Sicily for his North Africa, he took the name Aḥmad al-Ṣiqillī, as did several of the intellectual elite who left the island at the end of the eleventh century.

Malaterra not only juxtaposed the *Arabici* with the *Africani*, but also with the *Sicilienses*, implying (perhaps wrongly) that these formed three separate groups.<sup>10</sup> For Malaterra, these terms were ethnic distinctions and not used to refer to religious or linguistic groups. In addition, he often referred to the *Sarraceni* who, for him, usually meant the Sicilian Muslims. *Sarraceni* was the word routinely used to refer to the Sicilian Muslims in almost all other Latin sources, including the royal chancery, throughout the Norman period. *Sarracenicus* is also attested in a royal chancery register from 1182 as referring to the Arabic language.<sup>11</sup> In Greek, it was recorded much less frequently but does occur as the anthroponym *γολιάλιμος σαρακινός*.<sup>12</sup> It also survives as the modern Sicilian surname *Saraceno* and as the medieval and modern toponym 'Saracino'.<sup>13</sup>

In Greek, the most usual name, recorded as early as the tenth century, given to the Muslims generally was *Agarenoi* derived from 'Hagar' the mother of Ishmael, the legendary ancestor of the Arabs.<sup>14</sup> For example, in 1141 we encountered 'Roger called Aḥmad in the religion of the Agarenes'.<sup>15</sup> This is not attested elsewhere outside Greek to refer to the Muslims as a religiously distinct group. However, the word is not unambiguous and it is not always clear whether the meaning is 'Muslims' or simply 'villeins'. In 1095, a reference in Greek was made to the *Agarenoi* on a villein register.<sup>16</sup> But the register includes household heads from the Jewish community, thereby suggesting that *Agarenoi* in this case could not mean 'Muslims' but rather 'villeins'. A similar ambiguity can be seen in the Greek text of a boundary inquest from 1142 where both *Agarenoi* ('Muslims' or 'villeins') appear named alongside *anthropoi* ('men' or 'villeins'), but all have Arab-Islamic names.<sup>17</sup> The name *Agareni* is attested as a modern Sicilian toponym, although the term is not attested in Arabic at all, which suggests it may have had a pejorative connotation.<sup>18</sup> Nor was *Hagarene* ever used to refer to the Arabic language. Rather, 'the Arabic dialect' (*ἀραβηκῆ διαλύκτω*) is attested on the one occasion in Greek where the Arabic language was meant.<sup>19</sup> Elsewhere, *al-Arabī* was used in a royal chancery concession in Arabic to refer to the written language.<sup>20</sup> *Arabos* and its cognates occur only rarely in Greek but could be used either as a type of ethnic tag or as an anthroponym.<sup>21</sup> Thus, we find *φίλιππος μοναχός ὁ ἄραβος* in 1117;<sup>22</sup> *ἰωάννου ἀράβου* in 1173<sup>23</sup> and *νικολάου ἀράβου* in 1192.<sup>24</sup> It would appear from their first names of Greek/Latin origin (Philip, who was a monk, John and Nicholas) that these men were Christian, although there is nothing to suggest that they were converts.

In Arabic, the standard and well-attested mode of reference and self-reference used for and by all Muslims was *al-Muslimūn*. This term was seldom used in Latin and is not attested in Greek. Romuald of Salerno does refer to the Muslims of North Africa ('a Marrocho venientes') as *Mesemuti* but more commonly contrasts *Graeci* with *Sarraceni*.<sup>25</sup> A marginal note in Romuald uses *Magumeth* for Muḥammad in an even rarer religious reference.<sup>26</sup> Straightforward Muslim-Christian distinctions were more consistently articulated, although no less question-begging in other ways. In Arabic sources, individual Christians occasionally were referred to by names based around the non-pejorative adjectives *al-Naṣrānī* ('the Nazarene') or *al-Masīḥī* ('Messianic'), but neither are attested as loan words in Greek or Latin. In general, Muslim authors referred to Christians with a standard term, *al-Naṣārā*. Oddly though, Ibn Ġubayr twice claimed that the Muslims called Palermo '*al-Madīna*' but to the Christians (*al-Naṣārā*) it was known as '*Balārma*'.<sup>27</sup> If he was implying that a linguistic distinction accompanied the religious, then he may have been thinking of non-Arabic-speaking Christians when applying the term *al-Naṣārā* to them. Alternatively, perhaps this highlights the haphazard, even thoughtless, ways in which such terms were routinely used. Elsewhere, although much less frequently, Ibn Ġubayr used more irreverent terms, especially after he had just arrived in Sicily. Thus, the merchants of Messina he called *al-kaffār* 'unbelievers', while both Messina and the countryside were 'packed with worshipers of crosses' (*abadat al-ṣulbān*).<sup>28</sup> The lack of Sicilian Arabic sources does not help clarify native attitudes and appellations, besides which most indigenous Muslim attention was turned towards, and against, the general advance and rule of the 'Franks'. Other terms for Christians, as well as those applied to 'Berbers' and 'Greeks' will be discussed as the debate progresses to deal with them as distinctly perceived groups.

### The 'ethnicity' question

It is immediately clear from the range of terms given in the sources to different communities that there existed many idiosyncratic ways of describing socio-religious groups. There is no sense in which different terms came to be standardized with time and their meanings varied capriciously according to the source in which the name was applied. The plurality of terms that could have applied to Muslims such as Saracens, Sicilians, Africans, Arabs and Hagarenes, did so across three written languages. It is remarkable that, whatever the particular authors' intended referents, only a handful of broad distinctions were ever made. So, while authors of each language made a common and general discrimination between 'Muslims' and 'Christians', no clear pattern of reference otherwise emerges. Indeed, it is often far from clear whether a geographical, religious or an 'ethnic' term was intended and, as modern readers, it is tempting to

regard medieval authors' use of 'ethnic' tags as scatter-brained and unhelpful. Yet this draws attention to the pertinent and often-made point that modern views of ethnicity were quite different to those held in the medieval period and, as such, there is a danger of importing ideas that were not present seven or eight hundred years ago. Thus, we are compelled to proceed with great care if trying to make sense of variant twelfth-century terms of reference and we should perhaps not be overly-concerned to read conclusions into the confusion of labels. Indeed, there is a clear sense in which the very inconsistency of terms does not allow us to reconstruct the ways in which contemporary sources viewed themselves in relation to others around them.

Nonetheless, the farrago of terms is itself notable for two reasons. First, although some terms were more commonly used than others, the lack of any consistent usage indicates that there were several, sometimes conflicting, ways of describing socio-religious or 'ethnic' groups at the time. Second, even when the irregularity of available evidence is taken into account, there is a sense in which terms of reference tended to identify particular groups by contrast with one another, as opposed to attributing any specific defining characteristics to each. This is most noticeable in Latin sources which rarely defined 'non-Latins' in anything but generic terms of antithesis. As we shall see, the 'Berbers' may well have been regarded in a similar way by the 'Arabs'. In both cases, this is likely to have led to some significant distortion of the 'ethnicity' question.

Equally significant to the confusion of terms is that which the source material does *not* tell us. In this respect, some groups that modern researchers might have expected to find, seem to have been under-represented, subsumed or omitted altogether. The absence of any attested term that, say, distinguished Arabic-speaking Christians from Arabic-speaking Muslims apart from simply a 'Christian–Muslim' division would initially suggest that the former were marginal, being neither dynamic nor conspicuous. Unlike the *Mozarabs* or *Mudejars* of medieval Spain, the peoples of Sicily did not apparently develop any equivalent general terms. However, as we shall see, many of those referred to as 'Greeks' by Latin sources may well have been bilingual Arabic-Greek-speaking Christians. Also missing in the twelfth century is any equivalent word for Ibn Ḥawqal's idiomatic and late tenth-century *muša'midūn*. Here we might consider an analogy with Ibn Khaldūn's emphasis of the *dawla* (roughly translated as 'State') for historical identity. Hence, his view of Berbers and Copts who, as conquered peoples, were destined to die out with the loss of their historical identities that accompanied their loss of sovereignty. However, in Sicily the lack of relevant twelfth-century terms neither entails that 'conquered' minorities did not exist nor that they had ceased to exist as distinct groups with their own consciousness. As far as languages were concerned, the generality of names applied also bears out the idea that divisions were also

made along broad lines. All such references occur in the context of written languages, but again the lack of specific terms for, say, Berber, Italo-Greek or Romance dialects does not necessarily imply that these could not be heard in Sicily.

### North African contingents

Modern enquiries reveal a number of Arabic names from the villein registers that indicate Mağribī features, thus implying some connection between Sicily and North Africa. Establishing this provides an important social context as well as being of importance for the varieties of dialect they may have brought with them. The most precise indications of Mağribī-Sicilian connections are made at an onomastic level. A large number of *nisba*-s or relative adjectives are found in the villein registers and many of these suggest a place of origin outside Sicily. These have not escaped the attention of scholars from different fields and the indications are that immigration could have come largely from anywhere between Spain and Egypt and at almost anytime from the mid-ninth to the mid-twelfth centuries.<sup>29</sup> However, there are doubts over the quality and status of this type of evidence. For while some of these immigrants may have arrived recently in Sicily, others may have been established for many generations but had retained the toponymic element to their name by way of family identity. That we cannot be sure when, or even if, these people had arrived from the places their names suggest is a serious impediment to the use of such data to establish immigration patterns.

Migration to Sicily was undoubtedly cosmopolitan, and it has been argued that Indians, Persians and Copts were all to be found around Sicily.<sup>30</sup> However, it should be noted that the name 'Hind' is a common girls' name in Arabic and does not necessarily indicate immigration from India. Nor, for that matter, should the name *Raḥl al-Aqbāṭ* compel the conclusion that 'the Copts' estate' was ever populated by Copts. The recurring idea that the early settlers included many Persians may also be misleading. This is based on the incorrect supposition that the toponyms Segesta and Mazar have Persian origins, from Siğistān and Māzar, a village in Luristān.<sup>31</sup> In addition, the well-attested personal name *al-ʿağamī* meaning 'a non-Arabic speaker', could refer to Berbers, or perhaps Latin-speakers, and not exclusively Persians outside the context of classical Arabic. Even if Persians were involved in the early conquests, their numbers are not likely to have been significant to have prevented rapid social and linguistic dilution on settlement.<sup>32</sup>

We might also note that the language situation in North Africa itself is unlikely to have been anything less than rather complex. Towards the end of the tenth century, al-Muqaddasī wrote that, 'the language (*luġa*) [of the people of the Mağrib] is Arabic, except that it is incomprehensible

(*munğaliqa*) and, as we have mentioned, varies according to region. They have another tongue (*lisān*) which is like Latin (*al-Rūmi*).<sup>33</sup> He then goes on to say that the rural areas further to the west are inhabited by Berbers whose language one cannot understand. So the possibility that some of the earlier immigrants into Sicily may have had some knowledge of Latinate dialects certainly cannot be discounted, and these people were more likely to have hailed from the littoral areas, and may also have included some remaining Ifrīqiyān Christians.<sup>34</sup> The survival of Latin-speaking Christians in North Africa is supported by the discovery of Latin Christian funerary inscriptions of Latin names in Tripolitania and, in the case of Qayrawān, these date to even as late as the mid-eleventh century. On a related point, mention is worth making at this point of a remarkable example of dialectal persistence provided by the example of Qafṣa in southern Tunisia, a town in which according to al-Idrīsī some form of Latin continued to be used as late as the mid-twelfth century.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, an assortment of slaves from outside North Africa who most likely accompanied some of the colonists into Sicily might also be added to the social and linguistic melange.

Some villeins' names from eleventh and twelfth-century Sicily do indeed suggest immigration from as far afield as the areas now called Spain, Syria and Sudan. However, both qualitative and quantitative reservations about this type of onomastic evidence are compounded by the tendency for individuals from distant corners of the known world to be distinguished by name precisely in virtue of their exotic place of origin. Naturally, we have little idea about the static and silent majority whose home towns were so unremarkably local that they would not have thought to include a reference to them as part of their identity. Thus, the evidence viewed quantitatively may even yield inversely proportional results. Nonetheless, it is widely accepted that most Arabic-speaking immigrants to Sicily came from the Tunisian end of the Mağrib, with the greatest concentration coming from the narrower area roughly bounded by Būna to the north and the island of Djerba to the south. Indeed, population movements to and from these areas were at times busy. Djerba, for example, was twice sacked during the reign of Roger II; its population transported to Sicily. Within three years of the second revolt of 1153–4, William I had settled Christians there.<sup>36</sup> We have seen how many of the Muslim religious and intellectual elite abandoned the island and were later attested in Spain, Egypt and North Africa. Ibn al-Aṭīr described how this exodus may later have been partially reversed during the North African crop failures of the 1140s when 'many of the wealthier families went to Sicily in search of food, but met great hardship there'.<sup>37</sup> Muslim immigrants were not necessarily deterred by life under 'infidel' Christian rule in Sicily and, presumably, would not have emigrated had they not considered it preferable to their lives in North Africa. Sometimes villeins, or even the population of entire areas, were transplanted from one region to another. For example, Malaterra recorded how, in 1064 and 1088



respectively, Robert Guiscard transported the inhabitants of Bugamo and Butera to Calabria.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, Christians were resettled after the fall of Malta and Gozo in 1090.<sup>39</sup> In addition, Christians from Sicily and the Italian mainland came to settle, or were later settled, in the kingdom's North African possessions.<sup>40</sup>

### The Berber question

It is often held that the 'Berbers' formed a key sociolinguistic and 'ethnic' group in Sicily, but it is one that hardly features as such in twelfth-century sources. In the case of Sicily, the Berbers might be regarded as of originally indigenous North African stock and able to be contrasted with 'Arabs', at least in virtue of their respective languages. There is little doubt that many native North Africans migrated with the Arab-led armies in the Islamic period and subsequent waves of immigrants must have included large contingents too. While Berber settlement in Sicily is both intriguing and largely undocumented, the focus of attention in this chapter concentrates solely on the extent to which Berbers formed part of the wider Arabic-speaking community.

A number of Sicilian anthroponyms are reminiscent of North African forms, for example the address form and name *Sayyid* corresponding to modern colloquial North African *Sīdī*. Others attested among Sicilian villeins include the forms *Allīš*, *Bādīs*, *Bullukīn*, *Dūnās*, *Lallūša*, *Ṣagrūna*, *Samūḡa*, *al-Tarākut*, *Tazūniš* and *Wārū*.<sup>41</sup> However, it is difficult to reconcile these examples with anything more specific than the broad term 'Maḡribī', because similar such examples could have been found almost anywhere between al-Andalus and Egypt. Likewise, the agglutination of the article to the following noun gives rise to distinctive names such as 'Landoulsi', which occurs in both medieval Sicily and, as a surname in modern Tunisia, is a phonological change commonly attested across the Maḡrib.<sup>42</sup> Besides which, migrants from Spain, especially towards the end of the fifteenth century, dispersed around the southern Mediterranean and North Africa, taking their names with them.

Equally widespread is the characteristic Maḡribī reduction of the patronymic followed by the definite article *Abū+al > Bul*.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, names ending in *-ūn* were also attested in the twelfth century as far east as Egypt but are thought to have originated in the Levantine area.<sup>44</sup> As we have noted, it is virtually impossible to discern from a toponymic surname alone when that person entered Sicily. A possible exception to this is perhaps found in the monolingual Arabic register of villeins issued to S. Giorgio di Triocalà made in 1141 in which fourteen of the fifteen names of the 'smooth men' or *muls* indicate North African origins.<sup>45</sup> Such an unusual cluster of Maḡribī names, all assigned the status of *muls*, as newcomers to an area would most probably have been, suggests that this group were first-generation immigrants in 1141

and may perhaps have been escaping the grain shortages in the Mağrib and the resulting famine recorded by Ibn al-Ağīr.<sup>46</sup>

Evidence for the use of Berber in Sicily is never likely to be in abundance as its main use has been almost exclusively oral. Thus, Berber dialects could never have been in a position to challenge Latin, Greek or Arabic as the written languages of the kingdom's palaces and administration. Nonetheless, there is no shortage of indirect evidence for 'Berber' presence generally with a number of toponyms that are reminiscent of Berber tribal names, observations which were first made by Michele Amari. He noted, for example: the Sanagia spring (in the Mazaro river) < Ṣanhāğa tribe; Mesisino hill (near Castelvetrano) < Mezīza tribe; Mağāğī estate (near Iato) < Mağhāgha tribe; Guddemi (between Mezzoiuso and Corleone) < Kutāma tribe; the Karkūd estate < Karkūda tribe; the River Modione (near Selinunte) < Madyūna tribe; the Andrani canal (between Sciacca and Agrigento) < Andāra tribe; Ḥağar al-Zanātī and Raḥl al-Zanātī (near Corleone) < Zanāta tribe.<sup>47</sup> These place names come from a relatively restricted area with only two toponyms falling outside the southern part of Val di Mazara from Mazara to Licata, namely Cúmīa (< Kūmīya tribe) near Messina and Melilli (< Malīla tribe) north of Syracuse. We might add to this that the 'Berber' revolts of 887 and 937 centred around Agrigento, which supports the idea that this was, at least at one time, a region of relatively more dense Berber settlement. Compared to 'Berber' settlement in Spain, however, this offers relatively limited evidence.<sup>48</sup> A continued Berber presence in the Norman period is supported by anthroponymic evidence, where many tens of references from villein registers, witnesses and signatories record the foremost Berber tribes. However, Ibn Ḥawqal's remark that most people in Sicily were Barqağāna Berbers is not supported by other references from the Norman period. Nonetheless, around seventy identifiably 'Berber' names may be rounded up from twelfth-century villein registers. This reckoning can be taken as a very approximate indication of Berber distribution based on a generally inclusive counting of all tribal names (e.g. al-Ṣanhāğī), names suggesting Berber forms (e.g. Yabqā) and Berber personal names (e.g. Tazūniš). Naturally, it cannot take account of the unknown numbers who may have considered themselves as Berber but whose names do not suggest that they were. Nor do the figures include the many Mağribī toponyms, or vague geographical epithets such as 'al-Ifriqī'. The encouraged, or enforced, adoption of Arabic names within Berber communities in modern Morocco serves here as a caveat. Indeed, it may even provide an analogy of sorts, as many modern Moroccan Berbers under pressure appear to have opted for 'religiously neutral' Arabic names in preference to specifically Islamic ones.<sup>49</sup> Otherwise, it may be presumed that no non-Berbers would have adopted Berber names.

The figures gathered from the Sicilian villein registers are as follows: registers from Catania and Aci (1095) 2.6 per cent (i.e. 27 names from a

total of 1,020); the Monreale estates (1178–83) 1.8 per cent or 36 out of 1,921 names and all other registers (1095–1169) 1.5 per cent (or 6 out of 396 names). Taking into account the relatively small sample size available and leaving a generous margin for error and variation, the results show a thin but fairly even distribution of Berber names across the island. The toponyms in the Agrigento area to the south of the Monreale estates may have once indicated an area of stronger Berber settlement, but this is not borne out by the anthroponymic data. The few names from the Arabic register of Triocalà show no great variation from the distributions recorded above, but the cluster of Maġribī names among the *mul*s of that list shows how Agrigento may have been the first port of call for many North African immigrants generally. In turn, this may account for the disproportionately high numbers of toponyms of Berber derivation in this southern area that had perhaps originated from a much earlier period.

However, this type of evidence remains very much open to interpretation and Berber specialists such as Michael Brett doubt whether there could have been any specifically Berber consciousness in Sicily. He is equally sceptical about the use of Berber dialects in a colony that was so heavily influenced by Arab-Islamic ideals, stating that:

in such a society [as Aghlabid Sicily] it is not only likely that for most people Islam was the badge of the citizen, but that Arabic, the language of the conquerors, their religion and administration, was the *lingua franca* which rapidly turned into a mother tongue . . . although Berbers played an important part in the conquest of Sicily, Arabic was the chief and ultimately the only language of the colony.<sup>50</sup>

This force of this conclusion is supported by the example of Malta, where the language contains barely a trace of Berber and is clearly based on Arabic. Indeed, while both toponymic and anthroponymic evidence supports the presence of settlers of Berber stock thinly scattered across the island, this alone is insufficient to establish the use of Berber dialects in place of, or alongside, Arabic. We might note that only on one occasion is a place name attested that may show an item of Berber vocabulary as opposed to a Berber tribal name. Yāqūt's *Muġam al-Buldān* records the (unidentified) Sicilian town called *S.m.nṭār*, which he claimed, 'in the language of the people of the Maġrib', means 'golden'.<sup>51</sup> A small, but potentially significant, amount of linguistic evidence comes from loan words attested in Italian and apparently derived from Berber. A tiny collection of these was made in 1935 by the aptly named Giuseppe Barbera.<sup>52</sup> Unfortunately, his work is not exhaustive, nor is it devoid of errors, nor does it make use of phonetic transcription. Instead, Berber terms are transliterated into the received Italian pronunciation of the day. Of only a handful of examples, he unconvincingly notes how the verb 'to piss' has

apparently filtered into English via Berber, given by Barbera as *'bascia'*, Italian (*pisciare*) and French (*pisser*). Also recorded are; the Italian *uggia* < *tagiait* or *ugii* meaning 'privation of light' or figuratively as 'boredom' and *imbacuccare* < *bkmbk* 'to wrap up warmly'.<sup>53</sup> This last example is subject to a counter-claim that it comes from the Arabic *barqūq*, meaning 'apricot'.<sup>54</sup>

An intriguing shred of evidence for Berber in Sicily – or rather the relative absence of Berber in Sicily compared to Ifrīqiya – may be found in the verses of Ibn Ḥamdīs. Along with other Sicilian-born poets, he often chose to consider Sicily as 'Paradise' (*ğanna*).<sup>55</sup> However, while known to be in self-imposed exile in Ifrīqiya, in contrast to the *ğanna* that was Sicily, he now referred to this new 'Paradise' he inhabited as *tağanna* – a Berberized form of the Arabic *ğanna*.<sup>56</sup> By this deliberate use of a Berberized Arabic term, was he implying that in this adopted paradise of Ifrīqiya, Berber was conspicuous as a language in a way that it was not in Sicily?

Such is the lack of evidence that the speculations which are forced upon us hardly make a compelling case for the use of spoken Berber in Sicily during the Norman period. Nor are there many reliably attested examples of Berberized Arabic in Sicily, nor examples of possible Berber interferences, such as the controversial idea that the agglutinated Arabic article in Romance loan words attested in Spain has come about due to the lack of a definite article in Berber.<sup>57</sup> To date, no survey of either Berber anthroponyms or Berber loan words in Sicilian has yet been properly undertaken. Naturally, it would not be surprising if such a survey turned up more examples than have been cited to date. On the other hand, it is highly unlikely that enough could be found to overturn the basic conclusions drawn here.

As we have noted, the population of the island of Djerba was twice deported to Sicily during the reign of Roger II and al-Idrīsī's observation that they spoke only Berber and knew no other tongue. If so, then we may infer that there is a certain sense in which Berber must have been spoken in Sicily at some time. However, the Djerbans show a case in point. Given the heterogeneous nature of Berber dialects and peoples, it may be of little consequence whether the first Berbers to arrive were of the Ḥawwāra tribe, or whether, as Ibn Ḥawqal claimed, the Sicilians were mainly Barqağāna Berbers, or whether the Fatimids later dispatched contingents of Kutāma Berbers to Sicily or whether there were influxes of Djerbans or Ibādī-s at various times. If we are to presume that they were entering a largely Arabic-speaking Muslim island, they may not have been sufficiently numerous to reproduce themselves linguistically as speakers of their own Berber dialect. Nor is there any reason to suppose that they brought with them any sense of a specifically 'Berber' consciousness.

### A model for Berber settlement and dialects?

The dilemma that the Berber question poses is clear: while there appears to be evidence for Berber settlement in the Islamic period, there is nothing convincing to suggest that Berber dialects were ever widely spoken there. Added to this is the possibility that dialects of Berber may have been spoken at some point, but died out with hardly a trace long before the twelfth century. The fundamental problem concerns language and ethnicity in that both Arabic and later, Latin sources often appear to draw a distinction between two ethnic groups, Arabs and Berbers. This implies that the dividing lines for Berber revolts and settlement patterns may have been based on some differing sense of identity. However, it is far from clear whether distinctions made by these documentary sources should be understood as indirect evidence that there was a specifically Berber consciousness in Sicily. If there was any such sense of Berber-ness, it could have been, at best, a rather woolly concept, due to the famed heterogeneity (linguistic or otherwise) of 'Berbers' generally. In Sicilian Arabic sources, terms that appear to describe Berbers were mainly applied in times of political unrest to refer to all those who opposed the 'Arab' ruling dynasties. In this sense, 'Berber' could almost be understood as a synonym for 'rebel'. In the Latin sources, no tangible distinction is made between 'the Africans and Arabs' leaving us to believe this phrase may simply have been a stylistic device in the form of a tautology.

But even if the idea of a concrete Berber identity is not fully accepted, it may be possible to reconcile evidence for Berber settlement with the lack of evidence for Berber dialects. The invasion of Sicily took place after a century of aggressively pro-Arab Muslim settlement in North Africa that had also been consciously anti-Berber. Indeed, we have already seen that an important reason for the original invasion of Sicily was to distract from the growing unrest in North Africa. All indications appear to show that these social and political expressions were transferred to colonial Sicily. Thus, the island most likely had a sharply focussed Arab-Islamic identity from the outset. Even so, there was likely to have been some Arab-Berber bilingualism among the earliest 'Berber' settlers as there is presumed to have been in parts of North Africa, although many of these Berber dialects may have been mutually unintelligible. Following the model proposed by Brett, the most probable scenario under such conditions is that Arabic quickly became the prestige language of Sicily in the Islamic period in virtue of the ideals of the fiercely colonial and Arabic-speaking Muslim leadership. This is likely to have been reflected most clearly in the repopulated urban centres of religion, administration and defence. As Berber dialects were not written, they would certainly not have been able to compete with Arabic as the new urban(e) language. Nor could they compete with Arabic as the prestigious tongue God had chosen as the language of the Qur'ān and

therefore of Islam. It is also likely that Arabic rose to a predominant position on the island because it was Arabic, not the miscellany of Berber dialects, that the conquered Sicilian Christians were adopting alongside their Italo-Greek or Greek dialects.

Thus, Berber dialects could only have survived if there was sufficient will within 'Berber' communities to keep them alive. If there was little or no wider Berber consciousness across the heterogeneous North African immigrants, then there was likely to have been correspondingly little determination to maintain Arabic-Berber bilingualism in an increasingly complex and crowded language situation. Any mutual unintelligibility between Berber dialects could only have contributed to their increasingly weak collective cultural consciousness as a distinct ethnic group and so they may have found it impossible to reproduce themselves as linguistic communities for very long. Hence, it may be possible to reconcile evidence for 'Berbers' in Sicily with the lack of Berberisms in later Sicilian dialects.

### Introduction to the Sicilian 'Greeks' and Jewish communities

It is not my intention here to deal with the Sicilian 'Greek' communities in political, religious or social terms. Rather, it is to observe that like the 'Normans', 'Lombards' and 'Berbers', the 'Greeks' were another group whose margins were far from distinct and for whom the appellation 'Greek' was a rather awkward shorthand term. To a certain extent, however, some of them formed of the wider Arabic-speaking community. In Latin authors, the 'Greeks' were almost always referred to generically as 'Graeci'. The 'Greeks' on the other hand usually referred to themselves as 'Chrisitanoi' in contrast to Muslims, whereas the Greek language and rite was called 'Graikos'.<sup>58</sup> Documentary distinctions between 'Greeks' as opposed to 'Latins' were not so clear. Thus, *Romaios* or *al-Rūm* could refer ambiguously to either 'Latin' (in the sense of 'Roman'), 'Byzantine' or generally as 'Christian'. In the latter half of the twelfth century, two witnesses, Iohannis, prior of St. George's and a monk with the same name, signed a Greek deed of sale in the 'Romaic dialect'. In this case, this meant Latin.<sup>59</sup>

Unlike the 'Berbers', the 'Greeks' do appear to have retained a good part of their identity in certain areas. One need only recall that the vast majority of 'Greeks' in the Val Demone had traditionally Greek names, were Christians of the Eastern church who lived in towns and estates with toponyms predominantly derived from Greek in order to gain a sense that parts of this area were fundamentally different from the south-west. Besides this, scribes in the wider area composed a good deal of their notarial documentation in Sicilian Greek and, until the twentieth century, some continued to speak Greek-based dialects. But the strength of Greek language and culture in the twelfth century beyond the area of the Val

Demone is debatable. Indeed, there is no explicit evidence for independent, monolingual Greek-speaking communities in the west of the island bar perhaps monastic communities or small bands of professional specialists such as scribes or craftsmen.<sup>60</sup> While there was probably sufficient building work in twelfth-century Palermo of Greek inspiration to have sustained a band of skilled artisans, there is some debate as to whether these were drafted in from Constantinople or were native to the island.<sup>61</sup>

During the Norman period, the sponsoring and founding of at least twenty Greek monasteries (mainly by Roger I) was a politically-inspired activity aimed at currying favour with the minority Christian populace. Where there were such churches, they are presumed to have stood as a symbol and reinforcement of the culture of the Greek church, although of course they were still part of the one same Church. However, in western Sicily, it is unclear whether the Greek language actually extended much further than the monastery walls, or whether foundations such as S. Nicolò lo Gurguro near Palermo were linguistically and culturally isolated. However, given that in the 1170s almost 20 per cent of the villeins around Corleone in the Muslim heartland (a day's walk to the south of S. Nicolò) were Christian and that many bore names of Greek origin, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that some of these communities were sufficiently large to have maintained some degree of bilingualism to accompany and support their Christian identity, as Greek was also the language of their liturgy.

An important religious minority who formed part of the wider Arabic-speaking community but who receive only passing references in Sicilian narrative sources from the Norman period, were the island's urban Jewish communities. In 1145, a confirmation of a villein register from 1095, cites a list of twenty-five Jewish household heads from the Catania region.<sup>62</sup> The term used in the Arabic rubric is *al-Yahūd*, but no Greek equivalent is given. All the names are of a broadly 'Semitic' origin and a high proportion of them are names taken from the Old Testament. Only a couple give any indication of a professional place of origin. Toponyms with Jewish elements were rare, although on the estate of Raḥl al-'Aqbāt conceded to the church of Monreale is attested a *khandaq al-Yahūd* (> *vallones Iudeorum*) or 'the Jews' ditch'.<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately, the thriving Sicilian Jewish communities highlighted by the Geniza documents and the numerous questions that they raise cannot be dealt with here in any great detail, since problems that surround the issue of Judeo-Arabic such as the wide diffusion of material, the difficulty of distinguishing between Sicilian and non-Sicilian forms, the absence of critical editions and a prerequisite knowledge of Hebrew make this exciting and important study, to date, the lonely preserve of specialists.

In the classical period, a handful of surviving Jewish inscriptions show that they wrote in Latin or Greek. During the Norman period, inscriptions in Judeo-Arabic (Arabic written with Hebrew consonants) are attested and

it is thought that there was sustained settlement in Sicily of Arabicized Jews from around the Mediterranean and North Africa.<sup>64</sup> In the late twelfth century, Benjamin of Tudela cited numbers of Jews resident in cities throughout this region and noted that preferred professions were dyers, craftsmen and doctors.<sup>65</sup> As a religious community, it has been estimated that Jews were a significant minority, comprising around 5 per cent of the population of the southern Italian peninsula.<sup>66</sup> An indication of the relative strength of Jewish communities in the south of the kingdom can be reckoned from his headcount figures. Thus, in northern Italian towns such as Lucca or Pisa, he counted only 20 or 40 Jews (or heads of Jewish families); 20 at Amalfi; 10 at Brindisi, 200 in Rome; 600 at Salerno; 500 at both Naples and Otranto; 300 at Capua and Taranto; 200 each at Benevento, Melfi, Trani and Messina, but as many as 1,500 in Palermo.<sup>67</sup>

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, a Spanish Rabbi called Abraham Abulafia noted the general tendency of Jewish communities to adapt to their linguistic surroundings and the particular tendency of Sicilian Jews towards bilingualism. He famously remarked that:

the Jews who live among the Ishmaelites speak Arabic like them; those who live among the Greeks speak Greek; those who inhabit Italy speak Italian, the Germans [*Ashkenazim*] speak German, the inhabitants of Turkish lands speak Turkish, and so on. But the great wonder is what happens among the Jews in all Sicily, who not only speak the local language or Greek, as do those who dwell there with them, but have preserved the Arabic tongue which they had learned in their former times, when the Ishmaelites were dwelling there.<sup>68</sup>

From the thirteenth century until the end of the fifteenth, Jews played an increasingly important role as translators since they continued to use Arabic, unlike the other Arabic-speaking communities. Indeed, it is significant that so few of Sicily's population were capable of reading Arabic even by the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>69</sup> Most of what is known about the Arabic dialects used in this community comes from documentary and archaeological sources written in Judeo-Arabic, characterized by the use of Hebrew loan words. The undisputed starting point for Judeo-Arabic in general is Joshua Blau's *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judeo-Arabic: a Study of the Origins of Middle-Arabic* published in 1965. For Sicily, Giuffridi and Rocco's study in 1976 examined Judeo-Arabic documents from the fifteenth century and of more recent and accessible studies, Nicolò Bucaria's *Sicilia Judaica*, provides a summary of source material for the Jewish communities of Sicily. For general accounts, see also Raphael Straus' *Gli Ebrei di Sicilia, dai Normanni a Federico II*, Palermo, 1992; Attilio Milano's *Storia degli ebrei in Italia*, Turin, 1963, as well as Shlomo Simonsohn's *The Jews in Sicily*, Leiden, Brill and Moshe



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Gil's 1995 article 'Sicily 827–1072, in the light of the Cairo Geniza documents and parallel sources' in the fifth volume of *Italia judaica*.<sup>70</sup> Finally Henri Bresc has kindly alerted me to his recent work 'Arabes de langue, juifs de religion' (2000) Editeur Bouchene, which I have not been able to consult at the time of writing.

The Jewish communities appear to have been remarkably conservative linguistic forces in Sicily, maintaining the use of some form of Arabic dialect until the end of the fifteenth century. As such, they stand in contrast to all the other Arabic speakers on the island who underwent a radical shift either in their language or religion or both. Indeed, those who appear to have been at the margins of Sicilian society during the Norman period will be the subject of the next chapter.

## AT THE MARGINS OF THE ARABIC- SPEAKING COMMUNITIES

### Defining the margins of the Arabic-speaking communities

Identifying the margins of the Arabic-speaking communities is made complicated by the type and amount of evidence to hand. The most obvious working assumption seeks to identify areas of Muslim settlement with the areas of Arabic speakers. As a general principle, this is useful for defining the main distributions and contrasts and, indeed, guides us to the clearest linguistic division on the island between the towns that had seen increasing 'Latin' immigration in the east compared to the Muslim-dominated areas of the south-west. Yet this general assessment cannot take account of those who may have known more than one language or the many degrees of local variation, which in Sicily could be considerable. As such, the available evidence only allows us to present a somewhat disjointed picture. For example, although the inland areas of Sicily were probably more densely populated in the twelfth century than at any time from the classical period to the 1860s, the most important towns in Sicily were, and have always been, coastal.<sup>1</sup> However, most available information about social composition from the Norman period relates to rural inland estates and small towns that were conceded to landlords from the de Hautevilles' possessions and later from the crown demesne. Under other circumstances, we might have expected such isolated rural communities to have been relatively unaffected by wider political events beyond their control. Left to their own devices, villagers might well have continued to lead traditional, conservative lifestyles on such estates. If this were the case, then giving a good general account of the linguistic composition of rural Sicilian villeinage would have been a lot simpler. As it is, some of these communities had been severely disrupted by conflict, or contained villeins who had, or had been, resettled from other parts of the island or even from abroad.

### Demographic mobility: the villeins around Cefalù

An excellent example of the lack of demographic uniformity comes from around the area of Cefalù on Sicily's northern coast, roughly a quarter of

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the way from Palermo to Messina. The town of Cefalù itself was probably quite sparsely populated with Muslims by the latter part of the twelfth century. Ibn Gubayr, who arrived on a Wednesday evening in 1184 and left at midnight the same day recorded only that ‘a group (*ṭāʿifa*) of Muslims live there’.<sup>2</sup> Some fifty years earlier in 1136, thirty-seven local villeins from nearby Collesano and Rocella were granted to the Augustinian monastery of San Salvatore in Cefalù five years after its royal foundation. Not only do we have records of their names, but also the names of 188 other men also in the church’s possession in 1145, and a further eighty-three from an undated villein register of the church’s.<sup>3</sup> Even at a quick glance, it is quite evident that there are significant differences between the structures of the villeins’ names. For example, only a tiny fraction (less than 3 per cent) of the 188 villeins recorded on the royal register of 1145 (excluding those from Collesano and Rocella) had names with non-Arabic influence and not all these are beyond doubt (see Table 4.1, references to pages in Cusa).

By contrast, almost a third of the thirty-seven villeins donated to the church from Rocella and Collesano had names that were clearly derived from Greek, Latin or Frankish origins (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.1 Non-Arabic names of the villeins of S. Salvatore in Cefalù

<i>Cusa</i>	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Arabic</i>	<i>Derivation</i>
473a	φράγκου	‘ <i>Abd l-Raḥmān bin Ifranqū(ā)</i>	Frankish ‘Frank, free’
475b	ἐλκουστὴλ	<i>Ramaḍan al-Q.rṭīl</i>	Frankish ‘garden, courtyard’
475a	ἐλβάμβακ	<i>Ibrahīm al-B.nb.q</i>	Greek <i>bambakis</i> ‘cotton’
478b	ἡττερουκούτ	‘ <i>Alī bin al-Tār.kūt</i>	?Latin ‘terracotta’
478a	μαρία	<i>Māriyya</i>	Greek/Latin form given in the Arabic

Table 4.2 Non-Arabic names of the villeins from Rocella and Collesano

<i>Cusa</i>	<i>Arabic</i>	<i>Derivation</i>
479a	<i>Niqūla</i>	Greek personal name ‘Nikolaos’
479a	<i>Yūsuf bin Y.nār</i>	Latin <i>Ianuaris</i> ‘January’
479a	<i>Niqūla bin Lāw</i>	Greek personal names ‘Nikolaos’ and ‘Leo[n]’
479a	<i>Fīlīb bin (A)bū Sayyid</i>	Greek personal name ‘Philippos’
479a	<i>Fīlīb bin Q.lǧūrī</i>	Greek <i>kalogeros</i> ‘monk’
479b	‘ <i>Alī al-Iṣṭr.nbū bin Yūsuf</i>	Greek/Latin <i>stra(m)bus</i> ‘twisted’
480a	<i>R.b.rt</i>	Frankish personal name ‘Robert’
480a	<i>Tāwd.r</i>	Greek personal name ‘Theodoros’
480a	<i>Bāsīlī bin Lāw</i>	Greek personal name ‘Basilis’ and ‘Leo[n]’
480a	<i>Bāsīlī bin</i>	Greek personal name ‘Basilis’

A third register can be found in the so-called 'Rollus Rubeus'. Although the Latin of the 'Rollus Rubeus' is a somewhat garbled attempt at Arabic names, a comparison with the bilingual 1145 villein register reveals a number of similarities, suggesting a continuity of settlement by certain families.<sup>4</sup> Thus, we find (villeins registered on the 1145 royal register are written in italics, followed by a page reference in Cusa): Hise cognatus Hanes, Ioseph ben Hanes and *'Alī al-Ḥanaš* (476a); Sidilza el Bambaca and *Ibrahīm al-B.nb.q* (475a); Hamet ben Maadile and *'Īsā bin Mu'adila* with his brother *Abū Ġuma'a* (487a); Abdesseid Bulbul and *Bū Hağar B.lb.l* (474b) and *Zawğat* ('the wife of') *B.lb.l* (477b); Othimen Malti and *'Alī al-M.lāṭī* (475a); Osein el Gidir, Ioseph ben Elgidir, Casmus ben Elgidir and *Ḥasan al-Ġ.d.r* (476a); Sidilza Bovac and *Māymūn bin al-Bawwāq* (477b); Othimen Lascar and *Ḥusāyn al-Ašqar* (479a).

A handful of the names are so similar as to suggest that some individuals cited in both lists may well have been the same. For example; Omoz ben Meib and *'Umar bin Muḥīb* (Cusa 478a); Abderrahmen Hanes and *'Abd al-Raḥmān bin al-Ḥanaš* (474a); Abdelmulu ben Rays and *al-Šaykh 'Abd al-Mawlā* (473b); Osein el Gidir and *Ḥasan al-Ġ.d.r* (476a). In the case of at this last villein (Osein el Gidir or *Ḥasan al-Ġ.d.r*, given as *ἐλτζήδερ* in the Greek), the 'Rollus Rubeus' appears to give the names of his sons (Ioseph ben Elgidir and Casmus ben Elgidir). Presumably, the sons cited in the 'Rollus Rubeus' had now formed families of their own and were taxable, suggesting that the Rollus Rubeus list post-dates the 1145 villein register. So, although some villeins had recently joined the church's flock from Collesano and Rocella, others appear to have had relatives in the same Cefalù area, implying that they had been settled there for some time. It is difficult to assess what effect such apparent constancy and variation in an area might have had linguistically. The critical and generally unknowable conditioning factor is the relative density of settlement in which they lived and the extent to which this reinforced or reduced the heterogeneity of the existing social and linguistic communities there. For this reason, explaining the demographic question is never likely to solve the language question on its own, but it can highlight Sicily's irregular sociolinguistic mix and the potential for variety. Here, at the margins of different social groups, working assumptions about settlement and language soon begin to break down. However, the snap-shots of different communities afforded us by the preservation of names in villein registers do at least allow a comparison of the onomastic structures of one community with another. As in the example of Cefalù above, this can help to highlight shades of variation within and across particular communities. While adhering to a number of general principles of operation, the peculiarities of Sicilian settlement require an equal number of caveats and the pitfalls will become increasingly evident as the data is elicited.

### Naming and identity

It is generally recognized that Arab-Muslim communities tend towards the use of names associated with the founders of Islam or that express a relationship between the bearer of the name and God. Thus, favoured Muslim names include the name of the Prophet, Muḥammad ('praised'), Aḥmad ('most praised') and so on. Also commonly associated with Muslim naming traditions, but not exclusively so, are examples such as 'Abdallāh ('slave of Allah') and 'Alī (the Prophet Muḥammad's son-in-law). Sunni Muslims frequently use the names of the three 'Orthodox' Caliphs, Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uṭmān whereas generally, Shi'a Muslims have an aversion to these same names.<sup>5</sup> By contrast, Arab-Christian communities normally avoid any such Islamic references, preferring instead more 'religiously-neutral' Arabic names such as Abū l-Ṭayyib (literally, 'father of goodness'), Sa'īd ('happy'), Maymūn ('fortunate') as well as more traditionally Christian names such as Arabicized versions of the Twelve Apostles, for example Yaḥya (John). Naturally, there is some overlap between the two besides a number of names shared by both the Biblical and Quranic traditions. These, such as Jesus ('Īsā), Joseph (Yūsuf), Abraham (Ibrahīm) and Soloman (Sulaymān) cannot be considered as specifically Islamic and again fall into a shared category. 'Greek' communities can be contrasted with both of the above by their use of names referring to Christian icons. Traditionally these same communities have also showed a strong preference for names of their own saints at the expense of classical 'pagan' names, although some names such as 'Herakles' were quite popular in Sicily.

Comparison of names is not intended as a sure-fire way of measuring the proportions of minorities within different communities, but it does provide a type of index that can be used to highlight contrasts and similarities between different registers pertaining to different areas over time. However, this method of assessment does not come without its own difficulties. For example, it does not defeat the problem of names recorded more than once in a list because they had come to be used as a family name. Such cases are not the norm but the distorting effect they might have is greatly limited by the large source samples from which they are drawn. Besides which, it is often far from obvious where a particular name derived, especially when it had passed through more than one language. More seriously, some terms of reference, particularly names of professions or equivalent toponyms, were sometimes translated in bilingual registers.<sup>6</sup> Wherever possible these should be discounted as they do reflect a genuine sense of outside influence in a community's names.

### Signs of social integration among villeins: Catania and Aci in 1095

Two registers made in Arabic in 1095 recorded the concession of almost 1,000 villeins in eastern Sicily to the Abbot of Catania. These same lists

were then copied with the addition of a Greek transliteration when the concession was re-confirmed in 1145. The vast majority of villeins recorded on these lists bear names of Arab-Islamic origin, but a small minority show signs of assimilation or intermarriage with Greeks. The few villeins with mixed names along with those from the Aci register are listed in Table 4.3.

These names, as a proportion of the total number of villeins may be expressed as follows; that of the 675 villeins in the Catania register of 1095 (and its confirmation of 1145), nineteen have names with non-Arabic elements. These represent 2.8 per cent of the total. Of the 345 villeins in the Aci register of 1095, seventeen names with non-Arabic elements can be identified, representing 4.9 per cent of the total. Given the relatively low percentages in both cases, it is not expedient to read too much into the slightly higher proportions of non-Arabic names in the Aci register. The combined totals reveal that of 1,020 villeins, thirty-six had names with non-Arabic elements, giving an average of 3.5 per cent.<sup>7</sup> The data should not be taken as an accurate gauge of 'ethnicity' within these villeins, but nonetheless does suggest a degree of cultural assimilation or intermarriage at some unknowable point in these particular communities' history. Also noteworthy is that the structure of the above names largely consists of an Arabic first name with a Greek-based second name.

Of course, we have no evidence for those whose names concealed part of their identities, for example, Greek-speakers who had entirely Arabic names and vice versa. Given the lack of explicit evidence in either case, it is proposed that, where necessary, these unknown values be regarded as both constant and equivalent. Support for this assumption comes from the fact that the process of assimilation was not simply a one-way flow. For while ostensibly Arab-Muslim communities had absorbed some local 'Greeks', equivalent onomastic evidence suggests that indigenous 'Greek' communities had also assimilated settlers from North Africa. We have very little evidence for this from this early period due to the lack of villein registers elsewhere in eastern Sicily or Calabria. However, the recording of a Leone Chamoutos and Iohannes Berberes in Calabria as far back as 1050 can be regarded as an early sign of social intercourse on the peripheries of two groups.<sup>8</sup>

### Arabic and Greek names from Nicótera in 1093

Evidence that is contemporary with the Catania and Aci lists comes from a Greek register relating to villeins who lived a short distance away in Calabria on the mainland. In March 1145, a monolingual confirmation in Greek was issued to Roger Fesca, the Archbishop-elect of the church of Palermo, confirming a grant of villeins first made in 1093.<sup>9</sup> The names of thirty-nine men were copied from the original donation and relate to villeins from Nicótera in Calabria. The vast majority of these men had

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Table 4.3 Villeins with Greek and Arabic names from Catania and Aci 1095

<i>Cusa</i>	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Arabic</i>	<i>Derivation</i>
a <i>Catania</i>			
565a	βαρράου	<i>Mufarağ bin B.rāw</i>	?Rāw often used in Arabic to represent the variants on the Frankish name 'Ray'.
565b	ἐτδοκές	Ġalūl al-D.kās	Greek <i>doukas</i> or ?French <i>Duc</i>
566a	ἐλγόροδο	<i>Abū Bakr al-Ġ.rṭū</i>	Latin <i>gurdus</i> 'fool'
567b	ἐλκάνδο	<i>Muḥammad al-Q.ndū</i>	Greek personal name 'Kandos' or <i>kondos</i> 'short'
567b	περιοῦν	<i>B.riyūn al-Ḥarīrī</i>	?Greek 'land, earth'
568a	βαρικέζ	<i>Mūsā bin B.rm.kās</i>	Greek παγκ- or παγγελραστος??
569a	γζοργζίε	<i>Makhlūf Ġ.rḡiyya</i>	Greek personal name 'George' or 'Gregory'
569b	καλφάτι	'Alī al-Q.l.fāṭī	Greek <i>kalafatis</i> 'caulker'
571a	ἐλκόντδο	<i>Ḥasan bin al-Q.ndū</i>	Greek personal name <i>Kandos</i> or <i>kondos</i> 'short'
571b	νικολάου	<i>Niqūla al-Ḥağğām</i>	Greek personal name 'Nikolaos'
574b	ἐλκαστελλάνι	<i>Ḥasan al-Q.st.lānī</i>	Latin <i>castellanus</i> 'castellan'
575b	ἐζζεούερηκη	'Umar al-Zawārki	Greek <i>zoarchikos</i> 'creator of life'
576b	νοτάρι	<i>Ibrahīm bin N.tārī</i>	Latin <i>notarius</i> 'notary'
578a	ἀναστάσι	<i>Ḥasan bin al-N.stāsī</i>	Greek <i>anastasis</i> 'resurrection'
578b	βορδονάνι	'Aīša zawḡat l-B.rd.nānī	Greek <i>bordonaris</i> 'ox-driver'
579a	γζοργζίσε	Ġ.rḡīsa	?Greek personal name 'Giorgis'
581a	ἐρρόρομίε	<i>Umm Ġamī'a al-Rūmiyya</i>	Greek 'Roman, Byzantine'
581a	ἐλκάνδο	<i>Zawḡat bin al-Q.ndū</i>	Greek personal name 'Kandos' or <i>kondos</i> 'short'
581b	ἐτδογκές	<i>Umm al-D.kās</i>	?French <i>Duc</i>
b <i>Aci</i>			
543a	–	<i>Ibrahīm bin al-Qaṭūs</i>	Latin <i>cattus</i> 'cat'
543b	–	<i>Yānī al-Mašās</i>	Greek/Latin personal name 'I(oh)annis'
586a	μουσκοῦε	<i>M.skū(ā) bin Abū Bakr</i>	?Latin/Greek <i>muscus</i> 'moss'
587b	ἡλβείφαρο[ε]	<i>Muḥammad bin al-Bayf.ra</i>	Latin 'bifera fruit' or toponym 'Bifara'?
589a	ἡλκατ[οῦς]	<i>Yūsuf bin al-Qaṭūs</i>	Latin <i>cattus</i> 'cat'
589a	ρόύμε	<i>Aḥmad bin Rūma</i>	Greek 'Roman, Byzantine'
589a	παστάλλα	<i>Tamām bin al-B.ṣṭala</i>	Greek <i>pastillos</i> 'pastille'
589a	ἡλπαστάλλα	<i>M.h.lh.l bin al-B.ṣṭala</i>	Greek <i>pastillos</i> 'pastille'
589b	ἡλκαττοῦς	<i>Ḥammād bin al-Qaṭūs</i>	Latin <i>cattus</i> 'cat'
589b	ἡλπαστάλλα	<i>Abū Qasim bin al-B.ṣṭala</i>	Greek <i>pastillos</i> 'pastille'
590a	μεσείτου	<i>Ibn Māsītū</i>	?Greek <i>mesitis</i> 'mediator'
590a	σεντήρο	<i>Ḥusayn bin al-Š.ntīr</i>	?French
591b	χρουσπούλλ[η]	'Umar bin al-Khr.s.būlī	Greek personal name <i>Chrysopoulos</i>
591b	ἡλκάπρι	'Alī bin al-Q.brī	Greek 'boar' ( <i>kapros</i> ) or Latin 'goat' ( <i>caper</i> )
592a	πέτρον	<i>Bātrā al-Šabbāṭī</i> <sup>10</sup>	Greek personal name 'Peter'.
594a	καλή	<i>Qālī</i>	Greek personal name 'Kali'

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names of Greek origin, but five of the thirty-nine villeins had names derived from Arabic, representing a minority of around 13 per cent in this particular case. In these five examples, the Arabic names were non-Islamic and almost all were mixed with Greek elements (see Table 4.4).

It should be noted that, although these names ultimately derive from Arabic, some of them, for instance *Mawlā*, *Haġġām* and their variants, were quite commonly attested among the repertoire of Greek names by this period. This casts serious doubts as to how ‘Arabic’ these Arabic-named villeins actually were. Given the relative strength of the background Byzantine Greek culture in this area of Calabria, there is little reason to believe that this minority of ‘Arabs’ were either Arabic-speaking or Muslim. Rather, perhaps their only remaining trace of ‘Arab-ness’ may have been a one-time Arabic name. Also notable from the point of view of assimilation is the way in which two apparently related villeins who shared the same Arabic second name (*al-Zammārī*) had different first names – one derived from Greek, the other Arabic.<sup>11</sup> Other evidence can be cited to support levels of integration of Muslims around this same area. Amatus recorded the eagerness of a Muslim colony in Calabria to fight alongside Robert Guiscard in the early conquest campaigns and Muslims are attested as living at Reggio by the 1060s. From Oppido, 40 kms to the north, a count of names of Arabic origin reveals the same Arabic:Greek proportions as Nicótera, that is to say, 13 per cent.<sup>12</sup>

Names showing signs of cross-cultural assimilation represent only a tiny percentage of extant eleventh-century names. The limited evidence from this early period does not allow us to comment further on changes to their religion or language without knowing the extent or timing of this assimilation. However, it is tempting to believe that if there was a steady trickle of cases, then such small groups were unlikely to have maintained their native language for long without also leaving any clearer signs of their historical identity. While it is possible that some in Calabria had continued to be bilingual, it is equally probable that the strength of the background

Table 4.4 Mixed Arabic-Greek names from Nicótera

Greek	First name		Second name
μουλε πιτζιλέων	Arabic personal name <i>Mawlā</i> ‘Lord’	–	Gk ‘little lion’
μουλε ό βρούπτολος	Arabic personal name <i>Mawlā</i> ‘Lord’	‘the’	?Greek epithet
ιωάννης του ζαμμάρι	Greek personal name ‘Iohannis’	‘son of’	Ar. <i>Zammārī</i> ‘piper’
δάβις του ζαμμάρι	Arabic epithet <i>dabiš</i> ‘fat’	‘son of’	Ar. <i>Zammārī</i> ‘piper’
βασίλιος της χαγγέμας	Greek personal name ‘Basilius’	‘son of’	Ar. <i>Haġġām</i> ‘cupper’



‘Greek’ culture into which they were, or their forefathers had been, immersed would have overwhelmed their native tongues within the space of a few generations.

### Patti: ‘Saracens’, ‘Greeks’ and ‘men of the Latin tongue’

The examples from around Catania and Nicótera show minorities of names within villein communities or otherwise where the vast majority had Arabic and Greek names respectively. However, the satellite estates around the town of Patti highlight how naming in such communities could be subject to wide degrees of local variation even within a small area. Furthermore, given the specific information relating to the religion and language of the settlers around Patti, we can begin to add to our understanding of these complex inter-relationships.

A single villein register relating to the estates around the north-eastern coastal town of Patti that belonged to the Benedictine church of S. Bartolomeo of Lípari-Patti yields a total of 377 individuals. But while the villeins of Catania presented predominantly Arab-Islamic names with a few of Greek origin, names from the Patti area suggest that the social balance there was very different. Some aspects of the naming mix around Patti closely resemble that of Nicótera in Calabria, but other elements stand in sharp contrast. The register from Patti is arguably the most important of its type from this early period and a badly edited version was made by Garufi, although a new edition should be published shortly.<sup>13</sup>

In 1094, Count Roger founded the church of S. Salvatore in Patti which was then amalgamated with the church of S. Bartolomeo on the nearby island of Lípari. The favoured church of S. Bartolomeo of Lípari-Patti was to become richly endowed with villeins and estates donated from the de Hauteville demesnes. The church already held the somewhat dry and barren Lípari and other Aeolian islands to which it tried to attract settlers with liberal terms of tenure. In 1094, it was also granted the fertile area of Patti ‘free of all service’ in addition to an extra 100 families, the *castellum* of Fitalia, the estate of Panagia and half the *castellum* at Naso. Before the death of Adelaide, who was buried in the church of S. Salvatore at the top of the hill in Patti, the church had acquired the estate of nearby Librizzi (by 1117), Focerò (granted in 1118, but transferred in 1142) and Raḥl Ġawhār (granted in 1118, but not actually transferred until 1132).<sup>14</sup> Some of the registers of lands and men that recorded the church’s property have survived. The villeins’ names they contain suggest that the social and linguistic mix of villeins and settlers was distributed differently in different areas.

In the 1090s, settlement of the town (*castrum*) of Patti was declared open only to ‘men of the Latin tongue, whoever they might be’ (*homines quicumque sint Latine lingue*).<sup>15</sup> This remarkable proviso was designed to

exclude Greek speakers as well as Arabic speakers, irrespective of their religion and shows explicitly, at least in this one case, how language was used as a defining measure of ethnicity.<sup>16</sup> Latin presence in the town was boosted by settlers from the Italian mainland, who presumably maintained their prestige Latinate dialect(s) that had secured their rights to settlement there in the first place. Although terms were not as generous as the less popular Lípari, they were successfully defended in a dispute from 1133 when the original conditions were read out to the 'Latin' settlers of Patti and then explained to them in the vernacular (*vulgariter*).<sup>17</sup> The great irony of this is that the rather debased late Latin constitution of Patti which granted rights to anyone who spoke 'Latin' was apparently incomprehensible to the 'Latins' who heard it read out the first time round. As such, the 'Latin-only' condition may be understood not simply as a positive attempt to attract 'Latin' settlers, so much as keeping out the locals. Indeed, an extensive list of Greek and Arabic-named villeins from the satellite estates of Naso, Fitalia, Librizzi and Panagia suggests there was a clear contrast between them and the folk of Patti with whatever Romance dialects they used.

The composition of the register itself raises all sorts of difficulties. While the rubric on the deed is in Latin and the names have been recorded in Latin script, it is evident from the frequent interference of Greek forms that the names on the extant document had been transliterated from a Greek original. This has left many of the names garbled, although almost all can be understood, if not entirely able to be reconstructed to their original form. The register bears no date and cannot be dated with any certainty from the information it contains. Nor can the names of villeins it mentions be convincingly matched to other, dateable, documents. However, it is certainly plausible that a register of men would have been required when the two churches were combined in 1094 and received their initial endowments. The mid-1090s was also a key period for the re-distribution and restructuring of the de Hauteville's Sicilian possessions and we have four other villein registers dating from this time.<sup>18</sup>

Support for an early date also comes from the mention in the rubric of an unidentified 'Count Roger' (*comes Rogerius*) who had given the church two Greek-named villeins that had subsequently been exchanged for two Muslims. Evidently, it was so obvious to the register's authors who the *comes* in question was, that no further qualification was deemed necessary. There are two most likely candidates for *comes Rogerius*. First is Count Roger I who was the prime mover behind the creation and endowment of S. Bartolomeo and S. Salvatore. Assuming the involvement of Count Roger and noting his death in 1101, suggests a *terminus a quo* for the original Greek register of between 1094, with the unification of the two churches, until his death. The extant register is a Latin redraft and update of the (now-lost) Greek original and was made when sufficient time had passed

for at least a fifth of its Muslim villeins to have died, as interlinear notes in the text record. The most obvious date for such a redraft was around 1133–4, when the church was involved in a series of legal disputes over rights and usurpation. As we have mentioned, in January 1133, the Latin folk of Patti had fought and won their case against Bishop John of Lípari-Patti, in which the terms and conditions of their settlement were explained to them *vulgariter*. Two months later, the same Bishop John withdrew the generous terms given to the settlers on Lípari and the following year he was involved in a dispute with a local Norman landlord accusing him of usurping the church's rights. There is thus sufficient reason to cautiously suggest a re-drafting of the register around 1133–4, almost forty years after the original record had been drawn up and when around a fifth of the villeins had died.

On the other hand, the second, and no less obvious candidate, for *comes Rogerius* is Count Roger II, before he became King. This would give a slightly different slant to the dating. Roger became *comes* in September 1105 and began issuing documents in his own right in 1114, thus giving a later *terminus a quo*. This provides a marginally different context for the document and recalls a Latin villein register from 1111, issued jointly in Adelaide and Roger's names, that granted ten villeins to S. Bartolomeo's.<sup>19</sup> That register begins tersely (*hec sunt nomina hominum qui . . .*) in the same way as the Patti register. Later, a petition from 1117 (in Greek) recorded how the 'people' (λαός) of Librizzi had their obligations favourably redefined.<sup>20</sup> Among the villeins nominated to oversee the new conditions was 'Nikiforos Charzanitis' (νικιφόρος χαρζανίτης) – remarkably similar to that of 'Nikiforos Garszanitis' written in Latin on the Patti register. Neither part of the name is unusual, but the combination of both is unattested outside these two documents. We might also note other donations associated with the church (Raḥl Ġawhār and Focerò) that were being made around the same time (1118). But whether the most obvious candidate for *comes Rogerius* was Count Roger I or II, the dating theories point to the Patti register being the product of the early twelfth century.<sup>21</sup> If so, then it records the same generation of villeins as the Nicótera and Catania registers, if not a slightly older one.

The list itself seems to have been made as an in-house record of the church's villeins and is certainly not related to the format of post-1130 royal chancery registers. The names of the 377 household heads are divided under five headings according to the estates of Naso, Fitalia, Panagia and Librizzi, but also included is a section devoted to 'Saracens'. Interlinear notes were added that up-dated some of the villeins' whereabouts, particularly those of the 'Saracens'. Almost every one of the eighty-six 'Saracens' had either Arabic or Arab-Islamic names and it can be taken that these were Muslims.<sup>22</sup> By implication, all those in the non-Saracen sections may be inferred to be Christian. This is supported by their names that

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predominantly derive from Greek. Among these apparently ‘Greek’ Christian villeins, are found a handful of names based on Latin or Frankish forms. Besides these, around 10 per cent of the names on the register are derived from Arabic, although none of these names may be considered as ‘Islamic’. The relative frequency of such religiously-neutral Arabic names was spread evenly across the four estates and are roughly comparable to the proportions from Nicótera in Calabria. Some typical examples are cited below. A notable feature of these names is also to observe how many are attested as modern Sicilian surnames. Besides which, in many cases, the Sicilian appears to be very close to the form of the Greek-cum-Latin versions of the original Arabic (see Table 4.5). The figures relating to the composition of names in the register are given in table 4.6.

Given that privileged settlement in the town of Patti was restricted only to ‘men of the Latin tongue’, by exclusion we can assume that the villeins from the estates of Naso, Fitalia, Panagia and Librizzi did not speak Latin. Given that their names are predominantly of Greek origin, we might guess that they were mainly speakers of some Greek dialect.

Table 4.5 Names of ‘Greek’ Christian villeins showing Arabic influence around the area of Patti

Reference <sup>23</sup>	Arabic >	Latin (from Greek original) >	Modern Sicilian surname	Reference <sup>24</sup>
12B	<i>Abū Bakr</i>	Bucheris	Buccheri	p. 206
3E, 11C, 7B, 8A	<i>al-Kāfir</i>	cafris	Cāfari	pp. 229–30
5C, 46C, 28A, 33A	<i>al-Haġġām</i>	changemis	Cangemi	p. 272
16E	<i>al-Harīrī</i>	chareris	Careri	p. 306
22B	<i>al-Farṭās</i>	fartasis	Fartaso	p. 584
49F	<i>al-Fawwāl</i>	fauellis	Favaro	p. 590
50B	<i>al-qā'id</i>	gaitanis	Cāitena, Caito	p. 233
5D	<i>Khālid</i>	kalidos	–	
4B, 9B, 41D	<i>Maymūn</i>	maimunis	Maimone	p. 915
32D	<i>Marsā l-Ṭīn</i>	marsatinos	–	
48E, 52D	<i>al-Murābiṭ</i>	morabitos	Moràbito	p. 1066
36F	<i>Makhlūf</i>	mugulufi	Magalufo	p. 907
16B, 20E, 6D, 53E, 37D, 28B	<i>Mawlā</i>	mules	Mulè	p. 1079
A12	<i>‘Umar</i>	Omuris	Omari	p. 1129
25C	<i>al-Bardā‘ī</i>	Vardaris	–	p. 116
22E	<i>Abū l-Naġā</i>	Vonichis	–	
47D	<i>Abū l-Khayr</i>	Vulcharis	Bucari	p. 205

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Table 4.6 Distribution of villeins around Patti

<i>Estate</i>	<i>Number of villeins</i>	<i>Number of names</i>	<i>% Greek, Latin or Frankish names</i>	<i>% Arabic &amp;/or Islamic names</i>
Naso:	103	157	88	12
Fitalia:	61	95	93	7
Panagia:	69	116	91	9
Librizzi:	58	110	92	8
'Saracens':	86	102	1	99

Considerable doubts remain over the language and 'ethnicity' of the 10 per cent of those Christians with names of non-Islamic Arabic origin who were listed among families inferred to be mainly Greek-speaking. The case of two brothers with Arabic names (*Omuris* and *Bucheris* < *Umar* and *Abū Bakr*) from Naso also shows how Arabic names may have run in families.<sup>25</sup> This strengthens the idea that such families may have retained a distinctive shade of identity that could be contrasted with their Greek-named next-door neighbours. However, the conclusion that such small villages consisted of 90 per cent 'Greek' Christians and 10 per cent 'Arab-Christians' is almost certainly too simplistic a thesis as this requires the communities to be divisible into two distinct parts; besides which, very many of the other individuals with 'Arabic' names had mixed names that were part-Arabic, part-Greek. Typically and among several others we find, Filadelphos, Costas and Nicholaos Cafiris (< Arabic *kāfir* 'infidel'); Filippos Chareris (< Arabic *ḥarīrī* 'silk-worker') and Vasilios tumugulufi (Basil, son of Makhlūf). It is also noteworthy that the first element in these names are Greek while the 'surname' is Arabic. As such, it is unclear whether this naming style across two generations can be taken to represent some faintly discernible sign of social realignment and a trend towards Greek names at the expense of Arabic ones. That is to say, the names show a community-based de-Arabization which indicates a drift back towards a more outwardly 'Greek' culture. As we shall see, this certainly seems to have been the case among indigenous Christian communities elsewhere, but there is insufficient evidence in the Patti register to warrant such a decisive conclusion. However, also of note is that one of the Muslims, who exceptionally had a part-Arabic, part-Greek name, 'Vukeris ocunpulis', (< *Abū Bakr ὁ καμπουλος*, the 'rope-maker') gave his son, 'Macrario', a Greek name which lends support to the idea that this trend was ongoing and may have been part of a wider social process.

Given that the estates around Patti existed on an island which had been largely Arabic-speaking for over 200 years, it is certainly not impossible that these communities had retained some degree of Greek-Arabic bilingualism. Although an improvement on the simple 'Arab-Christian

versus Greek-Christian' thesis, the argument for linguistic heterogeneity is hardly a compelling conclusion either, given the information available. However, we might say that, in whatever way we regard the communities in and around Patti, they were unlikely to have presented an entirely uniform social and linguistic front. If nothing else, they show the range of possibilities from around a quite small area.

The areas of the Val di Noto and Val Demone had seen a good deal of fighting in the early period and had added to the increasing problem of displaced villeins. Around 1094, Count Roger declared his intention to resettle all such unclaimed or illegally-held villeins around the newly-built watch-tower at Focerò.<sup>26</sup> However, the problem of displaced villeins was not permanently solved as Focerò was destroyed and rebuilt three times between 1101 and 1142. This seems to have happened as part of the barely documented, but serious and sustained, baronial opposition that broke out on the death of Roger I.<sup>27</sup> The continued level of social and demographic disruption in the Patti area during this period suggests that the social composition of its villein communities might have been equally fractured. However, the relative proportions of villeins with Arabic names to villeins with Greek or Latinate names (about 1:10 in each of the four villages) from different estates in the church's possession are remarkably uniform. This suggests that, whatever the levels of social displacement had been from the 1090s to the 1140s, the social balance of these communities was already well-established before the troubles began. If this suggestion is not accepted then we must concede the less likely scenario that the close similarity of naming patterns across these four communities was purely coincidental.

The interlinear notes added in order to update the Muslim section are noteworthy for the lack of local knowledge shown about these villeins. Comments on individual Muslims include, *ignoratur* (59E, 61D, 64D), *nescitur* (56E), *nescimus* (59C), and *nescimus qui sit* (58C). Between the time the original list had been compiled and the updates added, it is also clear that some, if not many, had died and in two cases (60E and 62B) their sons had fled the area. The manuscript does not tell us where on the church's lands the Muslims had settled, but the apparent ignorance of where, or even who, they were suggests that they lived as a separate Arab-Muslim community, distinct from their Christian neighbours. This community's social and religious isolation is confirmed by their marked preference for exclusively Arab-Islamic names and it is quite likely that they maintained and reinforced their religious identity by the use of Arabic.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, there is no evidence at all to suggest that any of this Arab-Muslim community had recently converted to Christianity and thus there is no reason to import this idea into the data.<sup>29</sup>

Patti and its surrounding estates can be split into at least four contrasting communities based on their religion, their names or their

language. Patti itself contained a range of settlers who were all considered by the church as 'men of the Latin tongue'. The outlying estates of Naso, Fitalia, Panagia and Librizzi each contained similar proportions of Greek-named villeins (about 90 per cent) to Arabic-named villeins (about 10 per cent), all of whom were Christian. The former figure includes a tiny proportion of names suggesting Frankish or Latin origins. It is not certain what the main background culture in these estates was, but it appears to have been 'Greek'. However, a 10 per cent minority of Arabic-named Christians is sufficiently large to suppose that Arabic may have continued to be used in these communities, especially when we take into account the background social and linguistic history of the island. The Muslims are thought to have lived separately, although we do not know where. This would have facilitated the use of Arabic, and their names give no reason to assume that they were anything but Arabic-speaking Muslims.

The examples from the estates of Patti serve to illustrate how fragmented the language situation could be and how defining variations could occur within a relatively small physical area. It also shows how religion and the use of language were bound up with the issue of identity and thus highlights the difficulty of divorcing one from the other when inferring the distribution of linguistic communities. Unfortunately, the evidence is marred by the uncertainty surrounding the dating of the register and limited by the bounds of inferences that relate to naming and identity. As far as the dating is concerned, it seems reasonably safe to say that it was a product of the first half of the twelfth century and so it can be taken as being within a generation, if not recording the same generation, as the Catania, Aci and Nicótera registers.

### **The extent of local variation: an early register from western Sicily**

The concentration of evidence discussed for the early period comes from the east and to the north-east of Sicily. However, a villein register from the 1090s recorded 75 villeins from the south-westerly estates of Iato, Corleone and Limōn.<sup>30</sup> In this case, none of their names, nor any of the twenty newly-weds also recorded, gives us any reason to doubt that they belonged to anything other than exclusively Arab-Muslim communities.<sup>31</sup> In this respect, they form a clear contrast with the villein names from the Patti, Catania and Nicótera. As we shall see, evidence from twelfth-century registers suggests that other communities in western Sicily did contain significant minorities, and probably had done for some time.

Scant as the evidence may be, the indications are that some assimilation and counter-assimilation had taken place during the pre- and/or early Norman period. This probably occurred at wherever the margins of Greek and Arabic-speaking communities happened to be at that time, evidence for which comes mainly from the eastern sector of the island. It cannot be

established whether this region was, or had been, one of the main sites of such cross-cultures. It is equally probable that a similar integration process had, say, spread across the island from the south-west but had been brought to a halt when the Muslims could advance no further due to the relative strength and density of Christian settlement around the fringes of, and within, the Val Demone. Nonetheless, the conclusion that the margins of Christian and Muslim communities had been frayed for some time before the kingdom was properly established appears relatively in tact. So too does the idea that much of Sicily's social and linguistic mix was fragmented and localized. So far as Ibn Ḥawqal's claim of intermarriage in the 970s is concerned, this is partially corroborated by this later onomastic evidence.

Other scraps of evidence suggest that some estates in western Sicily, which were not part of the royal demesnes, were in the hands of individual Christian landlords before the creation of Monreale. Some of these landlords may have been Arab-Christians while others were Frankish. Thus, before the foundation of the church of Monreale, we find possessions in western Sicily held by the Malcovenants, Geoffrey of Battellaro and the Forestals besides a host of 'unknowns'. These include a *qā'id* called Yūsuf who possessed a handful of villeins around Corleone as did a certain Richard in the 1180s.<sup>32</sup> Besides this, we might note land near Qal'at al-Ṭrāzī formerly held by the unknown priest called Salmūn and a nearby estate held around the same time by *Bāyān D.ġ.rġ* identified as Paganus de Gorges whose family, originally from France, was attested around the Agrigento area until the late 1120s.<sup>33</sup> To my knowledge, there are no examples of lands being conceded to Muslims in the Norman period. We might add that Gentile the Bishop of Agrigento is attested as having bought up the lands of Muslim *qā'id*-s, '*quando fuerunt expulsi de Sicilia*'.<sup>34</sup>

### Onomastic data as evidence for social change

In recent years, attempts have been made to reconcile the onomastic data from the villein registers with evidence for religious conversion. This is achieved primarily by inferring a community's religious outlook from the names of its inhabitants. For the early Norman period, we used this method to contrast the composition of some groups with others, based on the majority of their names. As we have already seen, there are reservations about the significance of some Arabic names in Greek communities and vice versa, and names that suggest the presence of a minority cannot also establish whether that minority was actual, nominal or the tip of a rapidly melting iceberg. These considerations will again come under close scrutiny in the debate over how best to make sense of evidence relating to language, religion and identity. A test case example of name changes, unusual for the fact that we have evidence that spans three generations, comes from the



area 15 kms to the south of Cefalù. This, *prima facie*, seems to support the conversion thesis and is often quoted as such, but in fact, relates to social re-alignment within a single religious community.

### Abandoning Arabic names: the Christians of Collesano

In 1140, Roger II's niece, Adelicia of Collesano, granted to the Bishop of Cefalù property and six villeins.<sup>35</sup> Their names are given as Lia, Costa, Iohannes, Theodorus, Joseph and Georgius. Then, in January 1181, a certain Robert of San Giovanni, having illegally taken the lands and men granted by Adelicia in 1140, returned what he had taken.<sup>36</sup> This included five villeins whose names were also given as Costa, Iohannes, Helias, Theodorus, and Georgius and we might assume that these were some of the same villeins mentioned in the original 1140 donation.<sup>37</sup> Additionally, in the 1181 donation, we are also given these villeins fathers' and grand-fathers' names (see Table 4.7).

The first generation all had religiously-neutral Arabic names, however, while three of their offspring continued to have religiously-neutral Arabic names, one of them (Philip) had a Greek name. As such, he has been, somewhat hastily, identified as a first-generation convert.<sup>38</sup> By contrast, the names of the third generation villeins clearly contrast with their parents' and grandparents' generation in that they were all known by common Greek first names. Although the conclusion that has been drawn from this is that over the period of two generations of Christian rule, these villeins had converted from Islam to Christianity, we shall see that there is no reason to accept this conversion thesis.<sup>39</sup> Finally, in November 1183, a second donation was made to the church of Cefalù by the same Robert of Collesano.<sup>40</sup> Of the ten villeins donated, three were specifically said to be Christians and the remainder Muslims (see Table 4.8).

In contrast to the Christians, the Muslims had continued to use Arabic and/or Islamic names across the generation gap (see Table 4.9).

Table 4.7 Related villeins of unknown religion from the Collesano area<sup>41</sup>

<i>1st generation</i> (fl. c. 1080?)	<i>2nd generation</i> (fl. c. 1110?)	<i>3rd generation</i> (fl. 1140–81?)
Eliaihar (< Elia?)	Abraam	Costa
Muheres (< Arabic <i>Mukbriz</i> )	Filippus	Iohannis
Bussid (< Arabic <i>Abū Sayyid</i> ?)	Abdesseid (< Arabic <i>ʿAbd l-Saʿid</i> ?)	Helias
Essaba (< Arabic <i>al-Sabu</i> ?)	Seytun (< Arabic <i>Zaydūn</i> or <i>Zaytūn</i> )	Theodorus
–	–	Georgius

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Table 4.8 Related villeins of whom the second generation who were known to be Christian (Collesano 1183)

<i>1st generation</i>	<i>2nd generation</i>	<i>Reconstructed names</i>
<i>Delegandj</i>	<i>Iohannes</i>	John son of al-Ġanī(?)
<i>Bulfadar</i>	<i>Philippus</i>	Philip son of Abū l-Faḍl(?)
<i>Abdesseid</i>	<i>Basilius</i>	Basil son of ‘Abd l-Sa‘īd

Table 4.9 Villeins of the same generation and area known to be Muslims (Collesano 1183)

<i>1st generation</i>	<i>2nd generation</i>	<i>Reconstructed names</i>
<i>Themen</i>	<i>Hasem</i>	Ḥasan son of ‘Uṭmān
<i>Dahamen</i>	<i>Omor</i>	‘Umar son of Daḥmān
<i>Bufel</i>	<i>Osein</i>	Ḥusayn son of Abū Fill <sup>42</sup>
–	<i>Omrach</i>	‘Umar(?) nephew of Ḥusayn (above)
–	<i>Bulfadal Sale</i>	Abū l-Faḍl Salām(?) <sup>43</sup>
–	<i>Abdesseid</i>	‘Abd l-Sa‘īd
<i>Tuluctet</i>	<i>Omor</i>	‘Umar son of Ṭalūṭa(?) <sup>44</sup>

The conclusion of conversion in Tables 4.7 and 4.8 presupposes that these villeins were once Muslims, but for which there is no explicit evidence. Another difficulty concerns whether the younger generation with Greek names were given these names at birth or whether they adopted these names themselves. Naturally, there is no evidence to corroborate either view and speculation is to a large extent pointless as there is no way of knowing in which generation this took place.<sup>45</sup> These problems, however, arise from the assumption that the villeins in Table 4.8 were converts. In fact, we are told nothing of whether the villeins in Tables 4.7 and 4.8 were converts or not and there is nothing in the Arabic names of their fathers to suggest any Islamic connection. Thus, an assumption of conversion only imports a new relationship into the data. Indeed, there is no reason to assume that these villeins had been anything but Christians in the first instance. This too relies on an assumption, but it is an assumption of continuity, not an assumption of change.

Thus, there is an alternative explanation for this data and one that stays within the bounds of the evidence. We certainly know that in Tables 4.7 and 4.8, the later generations had Greek-based names at the expense of religiously-neutral Arabic ones. Rather than inferring changes to the religious base of part of this community, the evidence allows us only to speak in terms of changes to the way in which villeins were named. This known change implies a social re-alignment that can be interpreted as an attempt to identify more closely with western Christian communities by

adopting names from Greek repertoires. This change did not affect the entire community as some villeins, known to be Muslims, continued with their tradition of giving Arab-Muslim names to their sons. This analysis associates naming and identity rather than naming and religion and makes no assumptions about conversion. As such, it shows a shift within the same indigenous Christian community that was now presenting itself as more 'Greek' and less Arabic, and which does not represent a transition between two religious communities.

### Assessing names of mixed origin

Apart from the several thousand villeins' names in twelfth-century Sicilian registers, there are also many witness signatures appended to deeds of sales and miscellaneous agreements. Although a comprehensive onomastic study has yet to be made of these names, it is doubtful that more than a few per cent overall are names of mixed origin. We have very little other information relating to these signatories and, unlike the villein registers, they are too limited to provide a reliable body of data to compare regional or community-based differences. It is notable that some wealthy enough to be involved in some act of commerce such as buying or selling a house also had a minor tendency towards names of mixed origin; the most explicit and extreme example being that of a Palermitan house sale in 1169, which involved a certain Christodoulos, the son of Abū l-Sayyid; the case will be cited in full below.<sup>46</sup>

However, there are serious reservations about what this type of onomastic data actually tells us. In this respect, there are two issues. First, there are other examples that apparently show the very opposite to the conversion or social re-alignment phenomenon. That is to say, there are cases, albeit relatively few, of individuals who have Arabic first names while their parents had Greek or Romance-based names. These include in 1132, 'Abdallāh son of George;<sup>47</sup> in 1149, Abū l-Ṭayyib son of Stephen<sup>48</sup> and in 1185 'Abd al-'Azīz son of Iohannis Endoulsi (< al-Andalusī) and Christodoula.<sup>49</sup> Worse still, some people had alternative names. An Arabic deed from 1117 recorded a villein as 'Muḥammad, who in Greek is called Bānzūl.'<sup>50</sup> At the other end of the social scale, the palace Saracen *qā'id* Peter was also known by the name Barūn ('Baron' or 'Pierron').<sup>51</sup> In 1167, he fled back to North Africa where he took the name Aḥmad al-Ṣiqillī.<sup>52</sup> The well-known Greek official at court, Eugenios 'tou kalou' or literally 'of the good,' was also known by his Arabic cognate, Abū l-Ṭayyib.<sup>53</sup> Indeed, there are a number of names that may have been considered equivalents such as Christodoulos and 'Abdallāh or 'Abd al-Masīḥ, although it is rare to find examples explicitly said to be equivalents.

The very idea of alternative names raises the point that this type of evidence tells us more about traditions of naming than about religious

conversion. We might note for example, that the surnames *Mauros* and *Changemis*, both of, or of implied Arabic origin, were already quite popular in Calabrian Greek communities by 1100 and had probably long since lost their Arabic connotations.<sup>54</sup> This raises the likelihood that other names, ultimately of Arabic origin, had ceased to be considered the exclusive preserve of Arab-Muslim communities even before the Normans' arrival. Rather, many mixed names are attested in Arab-Christian circles and some Arab-Christian names were also used among the 'Greek' communities. Particular favourites in the latter case were Arabic names that could easily be resolved to fit Greek syllabic patterns or that consisted of sounds shared by the two languages. Many such names attested in documents were commonly Hellenicized or Romanticized with the addition of Greek or Latin inflectional endings. Given this practice and the existence of Arabic-speaking Christians in Sicily, we might regard the identification of Arabic names with Muslims as not only unwarranted, but also see an intimate association between religiously-neutral Arabic names in apparently and otherwise 'Greek' Christian communities.

Since the onomastic data can be understood as involving merely a change of name without a corresponding change of religion, this allows us to offer a re-assessment of previously-held views concerning the onomastic evidence and the apparent conversion of Muslim villeins. Some have suggested that it was not only the villeins at Collesano who had converted, but also the Arabic-named villeins from the Patti register of unknown date that was discussed previously.<sup>55</sup> But these arguments have as their starting point the weak premise that someone with an Arabic name may be assumed to be a Muslim. This association between naming and religion can be shown to be unjustified, and in most cases, unable to be tested. Moreover, since it was relatively common for Christians in otherwise 'Greek' communities to have traditionally Arabic names, there is no reason to believe that any of the villeins at Collesano or Patti had converted at all because they were probably all Christians in the first place. Some of these had religiously-neutral, non-Islamic names of Arabic derivation in line with the long-established tradition within largely Greek-named communities of north-eastern Sicily. The tendency to adopt Greek names at the expense of Arabic ones as the Norman period progressed could be interpreted as an attempt to harmonize with the background 'Greek' aspect of that community, and perhaps this may be viewed as the attempt of a minority to avoid a negative association between Arabic-sounding names and Islam. According to the revised reading of the evidence, this need not tell us anything about conversion at all, rather it may add to our understanding of shifts in social alignment with regard to naming and identity.

The well-attested practice of adopting and adapting Arabic names by non-Muslim communities might easily account for names of Greek and Arabic origin that sometimes occur within the same generation of a family,

without any apparent inconsistency or contradiction. For example, among related witnesses and signatories we find: Cristodoula daughter of Abderrahman Akpe (< ‘Abd al-Raḥmān; Akpe < ?‘Uqba) with their sons Simeon and Bussit (< Abū l-Sayyid).<sup>56</sup> Also attested is Chousoun (< ?Ḥassūn) whose sons were Maimun (< Maymūn) and Iohannis<sup>57</sup> and in 1164 a certain Sitelkioul (< ?Sitt al-Kull) the daughter of *qā'id* Seout (< ?Sa‘īd) and her son Nikolaos.<sup>58</sup>

The lack of a consistent and linear relationship between Arabic-named fathers and their Greek-named sons indicates more complex processes at work than straightforward religious conversion manifested by name changes in the direction of the new-found faith. Unsurprisingly, we find a number of individuals whose religion or background we would not be able to infer simply from their names. For example, in 1111 a villein was registered as “Abdallāh, whose father is Christian”.<sup>59</sup> Does this imply that ‘Abdallāh himself or other members of his family were not Christians? But perhaps the most confused and confusing example comes from a Greek document of sale from 1169 involving a certain Christodoulos and Sitt al-Ḥusn and concerning a house in Palermo. He was the son of an Abū l-Sayyid; she was the daughter of Peter of Castronuovo who signed his name in Latin, and the wife of an ‘Abd l-Sa‘īd.<sup>60</sup> Among the other witnesses to the deal were Simeon, son of Andrea al-Raḥḥām who signed in Arabic as well as a certain Theodore, the son of Leo al-Khanzārī (the Arabic for pig-farmer) who signed in Greek.<sup>61</sup> It is important to add that while such an eclectic mix of names was not representative of the norm, it was nevertheless quite common in Sicily.

### Non-Arabic names from the Monreale villeins in 1178

The two long villein registers from 1178 and 1183 that relate to the estates of Monreale allow us to compare the names they contain with those from around Sicily. Unlike the registers from Catania and Aci, the Monreale registers were not confirmations of previous lists, but were probably compiled from scratch in the late 1170s or early 1180s. But like the Catania registers from the 1090s, the Monreale lists also give the clear impression that its estates were predominantly populated by Arab-Muslim communities. However, a small percentage of names are derived from non-Arabic sources suggesting that these communities were not purely Arab-Muslim, but had absorbed ‘Greeks’, ‘Latins’ and ‘Frankish’ villeins (see below). In the latter case, assimilation of Frankish settlers is unlikely to have predated the first Christian incursions. It is also likely that these numbers were relatively small and it is unclear why these settlers would have been attracted to such Arab-Muslim estates. There is nothing to suggest that they had received more favourable terms, although it is possible that they had a higher social status as the names of Christians testifying to

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local boundaries at royal inquests were always recorded before those of Arab-Muslims in chancery documents. We can but guess at how they might have reacted to their new linguistic environment, but it seems unlikely that their numbers were large enough at this time to have maintained their native dialects without also coming to understand and use some Arabic. On the other hand, their linguistic impact on Arabic-speaking communities must have been slight in this period. The assimilation of ‘Greeks’ is more problematic as such absorption could theoretically have taken place at any time from the Muslim invasions until the register was compiled. Although the overall percentage of Greek names is very small, as can be seen from the figures and examples below, they may have represented the vestiges of a once much larger community.

Even if not all the derivations below are accepted, there is no doubt that a small proportion of names amongst these otherwise Arab-Islamic estates were derived from non-Arabic sources. The details for Monreale 1178 (less the Corleone Christians) are as follows:

1,141 villeins, 39 with non-Arabic elements = 3.4% (39/1,141)  
 2,067 names, 39 names with non-Arabic elements = 1.9% (39/2,067)

For Monreale 1183, the figures reflect a lower proportion, thus:

729 villeins, 6 with non-Arabic elements = 0.8% (6/729)  
 1,225 names, 6 with non-Arabic elements = 0.5% (6/1,225)

Table 4.10 Villeins from the Monreale estates with non-Arabic names in 1178 (excluding the Corleone Christians)

<i>Cusa</i> <i>ref.</i>	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Full name in Arabic</i>	<i>Derivation</i>
135b	ἔλρομῖε	<i>Ibn al-Rāmiyya</i>	Greek ‘Roman, Byzantine’
137b	ὁ γαλλούνη	<i>Al-Ġ.lūni</i>	French <i>Gallon</i> ‘fat chicken’
137b	ὁ βαρτίλις	<i>Al-Bārtili</i>	Greek <i>barti</i> ‘rose’
138a	ἐλμούνδου	<i>Al-M.ndū</i>	Latin <i>mundus</i> ‘clean’ or diminutive of ‘Raymond’?
138b	ἐλδεμοῦν	<i>‘Alī bin al-Dāmūn</i>	Greek <i>daimon</i> ‘devil’ or ‘(Val) Demone’
139a	δοικκές	<i>Ibn D.kās</i>	?French ‘Duc’
140a	ἐλζουγούνδε	<i>Abū Bakr bin al-Z.ġ.ndī</i>	Latin <i>iucundus</i> ‘delightful’
141b	ἐλδεμοῦν	<i>Ibn al-Dāmūn</i>	Greek <i>daimon</i> ‘devil’ or ‘(Val) Demone’
141b	ἐλδεμοῦν	<i>Ibn al-Dāmūn</i>	Greek <i>daimon</i> ‘devil’ or ‘(Val) Demone’
141b	ἐλζουγούνδε	<i>Ibn al-Z.ġ.ndī</i>	Latin <i>iucundus</i> ‘delightful’
144b	ἐλδεμοῦν	<i>Hilāl bin ‘Alī bin al-Dāmūn</i>	Greek <i>daimon</i> ‘devil’ or ‘(Val) Demone’
144b	ἐλμούνδου	<i>Sayyid ahli bin al-Munda</i>	Latin <i>mundus</i> ‘clean’ or diminutive of ‘Raymond’?

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<i>Cusa</i> ref.	Greek	Full name in Arabic	Derivation
144b	δοῦκι	ʿUṭmān bin Abī Dūqa	?French <i>Duc</i>
144b	ἐλδεμοῦν	<i>al-Dāmūn</i>	Greek <i>daimon</i> ‘devil’ or ‘(Val) Demone’
147a	ροῦμε	ʿAlī bin Rūma	Greek ‘Roman, Byzantine’
147b	γηρομέν	<i>Yrmān bin Killa</i>	Personal name ‘German’
148a	ἐπέσκελι	ʿUmar bin B.škālī	?Greek <i>Paschalis</i> ‘Easter’
149a	γιομάν	<i>Yrmān bin Bū Riġl</i>	Personal name ‘German’
149b	κούρζα	<i>Ḥammūd bin Q.rza</i>	??Latin/Greek <i>Kourt-</i> ‘Court’ cf <i>kourtzillos</i>
150a	ροῦμε	<i>Ibrahīm bin ʿAlī bin Rūma</i>	Greek ‘Roman, Byzantine’
150b	δέιλου	ʿAlī bin Dīlū	?Latin ‘of Leo?’
155a	τζερδέν	<i>Muḥammad Ğ.rdān</i>	?Latin name <i>Jordanus</i> or Arabic <i>ġartān</i> ‘large rat’?
155a	ἐλμαγούλη	<i>Ḥasan bin al-Maġūlī</i>	Greek ‘chubby’
155a	ἐπερέδινη	ʿAlī <i>al-Burādānī</i>	Greek ‘ox-driver’
156a	τζερδέν	<i>Abū Bakr Ğ.rdān</i>	?Latin name <i>Jordanus</i> or Arabic <i>ġartān</i> ‘large rat’?
156b	ἐλτζίνι[ου]	<i>Abū al-Ḥasan bin al-Ĝ.n.tū</i>	Zanati or Latin? <i>Janitor</i> ‘doorman’
159b	ἐλμαγούλ[η]	<i>Abū Bakr bin al-Māġūlī</i>	Greek ‘chubby’
160b	γηδμέν	<i>Yarmān bin al-Mūs</i> <sup>62</sup>	personal name ‘German’
161b	ὁ καλφτ’ς <sup>63</sup>	<i>Yūsuf al-Q.lfāt</i>	Greek ‘caulker’
162b	κοσμά[ν]	<i>Sayūd rabīb Q.zmān</i>	Greek personal name ‘Kosmas’
163b	μαγούλ[η]	ʿAzzūz <i>sīhr Māġūlī</i>	Greek ‘chubby’
167a	μαρία	<i>Ĝawhār bin Māriyya</i>	Greek version given in Arabic
167b	τζενζούλ[ε]	<i>Ĝ.nġūla</i>	?French ‘Gentil’ cf Greek personal name τζεντηλ
169a	μοσκάπτου	<i>ʿAbd al-Raḥmān M.sq.tū</i>	Latin/Greek ‘muscus’ ‘moss’
170a	σοφίε	<i>Ḥasan Saḥfiyya</i>	?Greek personal name ‘Sofia’
170a	σοφίε	<i>ʿAbd al-Sallām Saḥfiyya</i>	?Greek personal name ‘Sofia’
171a	ἐλβατζιλέρι	ʿAlī <i>al-Baġilāw.r</i>	French? ‘batchelor’
173b	ἐλτζελλέρι	<i>Khalaf al-Ĝ.llārī</i>	Latin <i>cellarius</i> ‘steward, butler’

 Table 4.11 Villeins from the Monreale estates with non-Arabic names in 1183<sup>64</sup>

<i>Cusa</i> ref.	Greek	Full name in Arabic	Derivation
258a	στρίυλ[ε] <sup>65</sup>	<i>Ḥammūd al-Istrib.la</i>	Greek ‘twisted’
263b	καράμιτης	<i>Makhlūf al-Q.rām.dī</i>	Greek professional name ‘plasterer’
271a	βισκάριτ	<i>B.šk.rd</i>	French personal name ‘Biscard’
271b	χαμφούρο	<i>Kh.mfūr</i>	?Latin ‘campus’ *foranus cf. Greek ‘kampoutis’
273a	βουρδονάνι	<i>Khalīfa bin al-B.rd.nānī</i>	Greek ‘ox-driver’
275b	βουρδονάνι	<i>Mūsā bin al-B.rd.nānī</i>	Greek ‘ox-driver’
276b	κουνούτη	<i>al-K.nūdī</i>	Greek personal name

## The Christians of Corleone

If Greek and Latin names were seldom found in the Monreale estates, the same cannot be said of the Corleone Christians. Among the villeins of the 1178 register, fifty-one are recorded separately under the rubric of ‘the Christians of Corleone’ and ‘the newly-weds among the Christians children’.<sup>66</sup> A high proportion of these (over one third) of these had names with non-Arabic elements (see Table 4.12).

The list also contains two pig-farmers (Abū Ġālib al-Khinzīr and Sulaymān al-Khinzīr),<sup>67</sup> and a villein called Sabu‘ al-Naṣrānī (‘the Christian’) whose name also signals his religion.<sup>68</sup> The Corleone Christians are remarkable in three respects. First is the frequent use of Greek names, as outlined above. Even though these were common, there is a tendency to prefer Arabicized forms e.g. Raqlī (Arabic) < Herakles (Greek) and B.r.nqāt (Arabic) < Pankratios (Greek).<sup>69</sup> This contributes positively to the suggestion that Christian families with Greek names were well-assimilated into the background Arab-Islamic culture of western Sicily. Second, we might observe the mix of Greek and Arabic names within families. In this respect, the only pattern of naming that emerges is one of diversity. For

Table 4.12 The Christians of Corleone with Greek names (1178)

<i>Cusa</i>	<i>Full name in Arabic</i>	<i>Derivation</i>
145a	<i>Filīb</i>	Greek personal name <i>Philippos</i>
145a	<i>Maymūn bin Ṭawf.l</i>	Greek personal name <i>Theophilos</i>
145a	<i>N.ġfūr bin Makhūna</i>	Greek personal name <i>Nikiforos</i>
146a	<i>Ibn Qālī</i>	Greek personal name <i>Kali</i>
146a	<i>Akhū Raqlī</i>	Greek personal name <i>Herakles</i>
146a	<i>Maymūn rabīb Raqlī</i>	Greek personal name <i>Herakles</i>
146b	<i>B.r.nqāt</i>	Greek personal name <i>Pangkratios</i>
146b	<i>Q.zmān</i>	Greek personal name <i>Kosmas</i>
146b	<i>Niqūla al-Qasīr</i>	Greek personal name <i>Nikolaos</i>
146b	<i>Ṭawdūr al-Waqīl</i>	Greek personal name <i>Theodoros</i>
146b	<i>Khilfa bin Bārūn</i>	Frankish name <i>Baron/Pierron</i>
146b	<i>Ibn Bāsīlī</i>	Greek personal name <i>Basilios</i>
Newly-weds		
146a	<i>Khilfa akhū Maymūn bin Ṭawf.l</i>	Greek personal name <i>Theophilos</i>
146a	<i>Khilfa bin N.ġfūr bin Makhūna</i>	Greek personal name <i>Nikiforos</i>
147a	<i>Abū Ġālib bin N.ġfūr ibn Makhūna</i>	Greek personal name <i>Nikiforos</i>
147a	<i>Yūsuf akhū Bū l-Khayr bin Māga</i>	Greek personal name <i>Magis</i>
147b	<i>Ġa‘far akhū bin Bāsīlī</i>	Greek personal name <i>Basilios</i>



example, Makhūna had a son Nikiforos, who in turn had sons called Khilfa and Abū Ġālib. Māġa had a son called Abū l-Khayr and another son (or nephew) called Yūsuf. Ibn Bāsīlī and Ġa‘far were brothers, while Theofilos had a brother called Khilfa and a son, Maymūn.

Finally, several names more usually associated with Muslims may be found among this Christian community too. These included: (145b) ‘Abdallāh bin Abī Khubza; (145b) Ḥammūd bin Abī Ḥaġar; (147b) Aḥmad bin Ḥammūd bin Abī Ḥaġar; (145b) Muḥammad al-Ġannān; (145b) Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī; (146a) ‘Alī bin M.sla.

In these above examples, it is impossible to know for certain whether using traditionally Muslim names was an accepted way of naming in that particular community or whether it was a symptom of some religious switch. In spite of the insufficiency of the evidence, this has again led to unwarranted conclusions about religious change, a recent claim being that ‘it stands to reason that many of [these], all serfs of the abbey of Monreale, were converts to Christianity’.<sup>70</sup> In fact, the exact opposite could be argued in cases where assuming conversion goes beyond the evidence. For instance, the example of Abū Ḥaġar, who had a son called Ḥammūd, who subsequently had a son called Aḥmad, shows a tendency to retain traditionally Islamic names within a Christian family, whereas we might have expected converts at some point to have adopted, or been given, conspicuously *non*-Islamic names. An alternative explanation for the use of Islamic names is that it could be understood as a defensive attempt of a small religious community to harmonize with the Muslim culture that surrounded them. Given the predominance of Muslim communities in the area, conversion from them into a religious minority seems somewhat counter-intuitive. Supporting and explicit evidence for Christians with Muslim names is hard to come by. However, one donation already considered is that of eight villeins made by Count Roger II in May 1111 to a certain knight of Labourzi in which the final name on the list is that of ‘‘Abdallāh, whose father is a Christian’.<sup>71</sup>

Although the Corleone Christians represented a minority surrounded by the Muslims of south-western Sicily, their numbers point to a thought-provoking conclusion with far-reaching implications. The Christian families were listed beside their fellow Muslim villeins from the same area. While the Muslims easily formed the majority, the Christians represented a 19 per cent slice of the total. And as Jeremy Johns has rightly observed, ‘if Christian culture had survived amongst the Muslim peasantry of the Val di Mazara where Arab settlement was heaviest, how much more must it have done so in the rest of the island?’<sup>72</sup>

Apart from the Christians of Corleone (and the Jews of Catania), it has been universally presumed that all others listed in the villeins registers were Muslims. At first glance, this seems a reasonable supposition, given that the vast majority of them had Arabic or Arab-Islamic names. Yet this

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assumption presents some awkward difficulties because a few names on the register suggest Arab-Christians were also registered alongside the Muslims (see Table 4.13).

Not all of the above candidates need be accepted as being Christian in order to argue that the registers contained Christians as well as Muslims. Clearly, names that have only a Christian connotation are unconvincing on their own, although the combination of two Greek names (*Filīb bin Q.lǧūrī*) is more persuasive. Alternatively, even if these *rāhib*-s were ‘monks’ only figuratively, it remains an odd choice of name for Muslims. Likewise, *qissīs* or ‘priest’ could have been simply a name that does not entail a vocation. In support of this, we might note the modern Sicilian *cognome* ‘Casisa’ which has given rise to the toponym ‘Casisi’.<sup>73</sup> But again, the point may be made that if these names did not belong to Christians, then they are particularly strange names for Muslims to be using. To clinch the case for the registers containing a mix of Muslims and Christians come two Latin registers dating from 1136 that positively identify eleven villeins as being Christian.<sup>74</sup> When these lists came to be re-issued as a confirmation in Arabic and Greek by the royal chancery nine years later, this religious information was not included. Thus, the royally confirmed deed mixed the Christians and the Muslims together indiscriminately.

Table 4.13 Names of villeins presumed by many to be Muslims (various areas and dates)

<i>Cusa ref.</i>	<i>Derivation</i>	<i>Arabic</i>
148a	Arabic <i>rāhib</i> = ‘monk’	‘ <i>Abd al-Kaṭīr al-Rāhib</i>
148a	Arabic ‘monk’	<i>Ḥusāyn bin al-Rāhib</i>
148b	Arabic ‘monk’	<i>Ḥasan bin al-Rāhib</i>
148b	Arabic ‘monk’	<i>Muhib akhū Ḥasan bin al-Rāhib</i>
151a	Arabic ‘monk’	‘ <i>Alī bin al-Rāhib</i>
479a	Greek <i>kalogeros</i> ‘monk’	<i>Filīb bin Q.lǧūrī</i>
163b	Arabic ‘the monk’s servant’	<i>Ḥusāyn raǧul al-Rāhib</i>
163a	Arabic <i>qissīs</i> = ‘priest’	<i>Abū l-Faql bin al-Qissīs</i>
265a	Arabic ‘priest’	<i>al-qā’id Yūsuf Qissīs</i>
266b	Arabic ‘priest’	<i>Ḥammūd bin ukht Yūsuf al-Qissīs</i>
163b	Arabic ‘of the cross, Christian’	<i>Abū l-Salīb</i>
578a	Greek <i>anastasis</i> ‘resurrection’	<i>Ḥasan bin al-Nastāsī</i>
169a	Arabic ‘Maronite’	<i>al-Maranāwiyya</i>
140a	Christian connotation?	<i>zawǧat Ibn Mikhāyil</i>
166a	Christian connotation?	<i>Mikhāyil</i>
167a	Christian connotation?	<i>Mariyya</i>
478b	Christian connotation?	<i>Māriyya</i>

The possibility that one could find Christians called Muḥammad living besides Muslims with Greek names serves to compound our inability to distinguish Arab-Christians from Arab-Muslims in the villein registers. While this threatens to undermine socio-historical evaluations that have considered these communities as exclusively Muslim, it adds to our understanding of the cultural and linguistic proximity of Arab-Christians to Arab-Muslims as religiously diverse constituents within part of a wider Arabic-speaking community.

### Distinguishing between Muslims and Arabic-speaking Christians

Although many parts of Sicilian society appear to have been fragmented and highly localized, the changing approaches to naming from the northern and north-eastern areas around Patti and Collesano form a clear but general contrast with the predominantly Muslim parts of south-western Sicily. In both cases, Arab-Christian communities may have played both a binding and intercessionary role. On the one hand, they were connected to their Muslim and Jewish neighbours via the same language and many aspects of a shared cultural heritage. At the same time, Arab-Christians were related to all other Christian communities on the island by their common bond of a shared faith in its various forms. The difficulties in making sense of these uneasy relationships of identity, language and conversion are considerable. Nonetheless, some problems are clearer than others. For example, if Arab-Muslims or Jews were to convert to Christianity by directly joining either ostensibly Greek or Latin communities, they would have faced some momentous difficulties. The new-found 'Latin' communities of immigrant 'Lombards' from the north of the Italian peninsula were the Muslims' principal enemy and relations between the two parties were often bitterly hostile. Falcandus records that after the riots in Palermo in 1161 that were followed by disturbances on the other side of the island in Syracuse and Catania, some Muslims:

either secretly slipped away in flight or by assuming the guise of Christians, (*Christianorum assumentes habitum*) fled to less dangerous Muslim towns in the southern parts of Sicily. Even now they abhor the Lombards so much that not only do they refuse to live in that part of Sicily, but even avoid going there at all.<sup>75</sup>

Under these circumstances, even the most determined of Muslims wishing to live in peace with their new neighbours would have found it hard to overcome the considerable social and political differences, let alone the significant barrier of learning a completely alien language. So if Arabic-speaking Muslims or Jews wanted to re-align themselves in socio-religious terms, their most obvious counterpart would have been the Arabic-speaking

Christians with whom they shared both the Arabic language and a familiar culture.

The cultural proximity of Muslims and Arab-Christians is shown in an extraordinary piece of explicit eye-witness evidence. In Palermo at Christmas 1184, young Arabic-speaking Christian women caught the lusty eye of Ibn Ġubayr as they passed by him on their way to the Greek church of S. Maria dell'Ammiraglio. The church was founded by George of Antioch in 1143 and, to this day, bears a Greek hymn to the Virgin Mary which had been translated into Arabic.<sup>76</sup> Ibn Ġubayr vividly recalled that:

the Christian women's dress in this city [Palermo] is the dress of Muslims; they are eloquent speakers of Arabic (*faṣīḥāt al-alsan*) and cover themselves with veils. They go out at this aforementioned festival [Christmas] clothed in golden silk, covered in shining wraps, colourful veils and with light gilded sandals. They appear at their churches bearing all the finery of Muslim women in their attire, henna and perfume.<sup>77</sup>

However, not all were so comfortable with, or fascinated by, such socio-religious intimacy. One of Stephen of Perche's first actions as the new, inexperienced and first northern European chancellor in 1167 was an attempt to clarify the distinction between Arab-Muslims and Arab-Christians.<sup>78</sup> The excuse was provided by many accusations made against a Muslim convert to Christianity, Robert of Calatabiano, the gaoler of the 'Sea Castle' (*castellum maris*). He had allegedly hired out his house for Muslims to take advantage of Christian women and, as if for good measure, was accused of theft, murder and restoring an old Muslim 'shrine' within the Sea Castle itself.<sup>79</sup> In addition to this, he found time to run a paedophile ring. His death by torture in the late 1160s coincided with more serious accusations that many Christians in Palermo had converted back to Islam and, for some time, had been living under the protection of the 'palace Saracens'.<sup>80</sup> Given the increasingly stormy political climate and anti-Muslim sentiments on the island, it is hard to imagine that Islam could have attracted many converts from any source. Indeed, all evidence points to the contrary. Thus, Falcandus's observation appears to refer to those who, like the 'palace Saracens', were perhaps not sufficiently Christian to discourage suspicions about their religion, and to a related extent, their political allegiances. The mention of the 'palace Saracens' as their protectors again hints at a wider political motive for undermining the Muslims at a range of levels. Such was the 'French' chancellor's concern with the problem of inter-religious mixing that he wrote to the Pope for advice, as shown by the reply of Alexander III.<sup>81</sup> The message that he sent was concerned with repeated claims that Christian women were being raped by Muslims.<sup>82</sup> On the face of it, this might seem an invention, inspired perhaps by a fanatical desire for

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persecution and could even be viewed as a common paranoia about the fear of 'contamination' with Muslims. However, if not taken literally, Stephen's letter to the Pope can also be read as an expression of deeper concerns, political, religious or otherwise, about continued Muslim-Christian intermingling. Whatever view we adopt, the implication that such intermingling was taking place remains.

Fears of religious contamination, which were manifested increasingly in terms of the political advantage to be gained from exploiting religious differences, were largely the preoccupation of the more recent arrivals to the island. These fears did not appear to have been shared to the same extent by the indigenous population, although they had good reason to be concerned at the growing tensions. Ibn Ġubayr recorded no such suspicions or tensions between Muslims and Christians in the countryside and even a sense of conviviality. Thus, he claimed that 'Muslims and Christians are together on their properties and estates. [The Christians] have dealt well with them in their employment and treatment'.<sup>83</sup> He also recalled that along the road to Palermo from Termini, groups of Christians they had met were friendly and greeted them cordially (and presumably in Arabic).<sup>84</sup> Sicilian Muslim and Christian coexistence in the countryside is attested by Falcandus, who recorded how the 'Lombards' massacred those who lived among (*permixti*) the Christians as well as those who were living separately and had their own properties (*villae*).<sup>85</sup> While some Muslim communities appear to have been intermingled with Sicilian Christians, others, as we have seen, did less so. For example, when Ibn Ġubayr arrived in Palermo, he noted that 'the Muslims have their own suburbs in which they live separately from the Christians'.<sup>86</sup> However, these accounts tend to make a misleadingly clear-cut distinction between Muslims and Sicilian Christians when often they and their contemporaries (let alone present-day historians) had such difficulties in detecting the edges at which one community ended and the other began. Only between 'Latin' immigrant communities and Muslims was such a divide ever unequivocal.

Islamic culture and the Arabic language had been a central component of the kingdom's population and the Norman kingship itself, the achievements of which are justifiably regarded as the high point of culture in Sicily outside the classical period; besides which, as we shall see, Arabic was vital to the kingdom's administration. Precisely how wide that influence was around the palaces and administration and the importance of the evidence contained in its documentation will be the subject of the following chapters.

## COMMUNICATION AROUND THE ROYAL PALACES AND ARABIC AS A LANGUAGE OF THE RULING ELITE

### The Sicilian kings through the eyes of Muslim authors

One of the points mentioned in chapter two was that many key figures among the kingdom's ruling elite and administration were either Muslims, converts from Islam or Arabic-speaking Christians. In addition, we know that the record books for the fiscal administration were kept in Arabic and that many of its charters were composed in Arabic too. Therefore, there is a clear sense in which Arabic was one of the most important languages of the kingdom at the highest level. However, it was also argued that the difficulties in separating propagandist elements in the art and architecture of the royal palaces, some of which could be interpreted in terms of ideological accommodation, from fledgling and more practical attempts by a newly-united kingdom to establish an administration over a multilingual and multireligious society allow us only to speculate about the true nature of the relationships between the kings, their Muslim subjects and Arab-Islamic culture on the island. Thus, it is equally difficult to gauge how steeped in Arab-Islamic culture the kings may actually have been, or the extent to which this changed over time. However, it is possible to piece together elements of their education, upbringing and the influence of those around them at court that may have conditioned their outlook.

In the eyes of Muslim authors, the Sicilian kings' ability to speak Arabic set them aside from other Christian rulers, and even contributed to the idea that they were, in some sense, 'Islamophile'. Thus, according to Ibn Sa'īd al-Mağribī's *Kitāb al-Muğrib*, composed between 1135 and 1243, 'both King Uğğār the Frank [Roger II], then his son Ġ.liy.m [William I], ruled there [in Sicily] and the pair of them used to speak Arabic and ingratiated themselves with the Muslims' (*kānā yataqarrabān lil-Muslimīn*).<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Aṭīr similarly recalled how Roger rated the opinions of a learned Muslim more than priests or monks to the extent that it was even rumoured he was Muslim himself.<sup>2</sup> Finally, the Spanish Arab pilgrim Ibn Ġubayr related that 'one of the amazing things said of him [William II] is that he reads and writes in Arabic'.<sup>3</sup> This highlights a potential difference in the education of the kings

over two generations, for if William II could read and write in Arabic, his grandfather Roger II could not apparently. In 1117, Roger confirmed a privilege of his father's made in favour of the monastery of S. Filippo di Fragalà. The Greek text translates as, 'I, Roger, Count of Calabria and Sicily and helper of the Christians, confirm and corroborate everything written and confirmed by my deceased father . . . I have made, in my own hand, the honourable cross present'.<sup>4</sup> Clearly, Roger was illiterate in 1117 and, as Vera von Falkenhausen has inferred, the elaborate, monocondilic signatures that traced his name and title in Greek, although similar in appearance, were the work of professional scribes.<sup>5</sup> Curiously, his apparently autograph signature appears in Latin on a charter from 1124.

The Arabic sources cited above come from a sufficiently wide range to avoid being accused of merely perpetuating anecdotes about the existence of Islamophile kings in Christendom. From cultural, artistic and administrative perspectives, the Sicilian kings were certainly not opposed to the adoption of elements from Islamic sources for both practical and cosmetic reasons. However, a fault line that ran through the kingdom was that its society had been divided along religious lines and that Sicily was, politically, a Christian kingdom first and foremost. Yet, it is notable that most of the Muslim sources are more generous in their praise of Roger II than they are of either William I or William II. As we have seen, 'Latin' forces began to exert their influence at the expense of Arab-Muslim and 'Greek' administrators towards the end of Roger II's reign. It is well accepted that this 'Latin' political ascendancy continued unabated into the time William II and beyond, while immigrants from the Italian mainland were increasingly capable of making their presence felt, with even sporadic attacks on Muslims, and indeed, the intractable political problems for the Sicilian Muslims did not manifest themselves openly until after the death of Roger II. In contrast, Ibn al-Aṭīr commented that Roger had 'respected the Muslims and took them as friends (*qarrab*). He kept the Franks away from them, so they loved him'.<sup>6</sup> But this task of 'keeping away the Franks' had been considerably easier from a position of political strength that Roger had enjoyed in the 1130s and '40s, than it was for the inexperienced William I in the early 1160s, or for the young William II from the mid-1160s. Given these fundamental changes in Sicily's political climate, which were to the detriment of the Muslim communities, was it with the benefit of hindsight that later Muslim sources had come to look favourably on the reign of Roger II? Moreover, had the political changes also been accompanied by corresponding cultural, intellectual and linguistic changes around the kings and the royal palaces?

### The collapse of Arab-Muslim intellectual activity

In the Islamic period, Sicily had played a conspicuous role on the Arabic-speaking intellectual circuit, completing the cultural triangle between itself,

Spain and Ifrīqiya. Quoted extracts and biographical evidence from Arabic sources attest to Sicily's importance as a cultural and intellectual centre, particularly in poetry, grammar and the Islamic sciences. However, after the migration of the island's Muslim social and academic elite at the end of the eleventh century, Sicily never recovered this status. Before he left the island for Egypt where he became tutor to, amongst others, Ibn Barrī and the sons of the Fatimid *wazīr* al-Afḍal bin Badr al-Ġamālī, the grammarian Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' cited 170 Sicilian poets in the eleventh century.<sup>7</sup> By contrast, very few Arab-Muslim poets at all can be cited in Sicily from the twelfth century in spite of some royal patronage.<sup>8</sup> Of these, few were native to Sicily and almost all flourished in the first half of the century. On the other hand, Latinate culture on the island flourished almost *ex nihilo* during the Norman period. Thus, rather than regarding twelfth-century Sicily as a rich and culturally-balanced crossroads, the strikingly divergent fortunes of Latin and Arabic stand in stark contrast. Although the sources available to us are somewhat selective, they show a shift from the early days of Roger II to the days of William II. In the early to mid part of the twelfth-century, Roger II's key advisors, such as George of Antioch, 'Abd al-Raḥmān/Christodoulos and Abū l-Ḍaw', were drawn from Arab-Islamic and/or Greek-speaking Christian backgrounds.

Some well-placed Muslims in this period also contributed to cultural life. Thus, we have seen that Abū l-Ḍaw' wrote an elegy on the death of Roger II's son and heir, Duke Roger and the poet 'Abd al-Raḥmān of Trapani described, in what appears to be an eye-witness account, the beauty of the gardens of the Favara Palace.<sup>9</sup> To these might be added a certain 'Abd al-Raḥmān of Butera who also wrote about one of the royal palaces, quite probably the 'al-Mannānī', known in the modern period as 'L'Uscibene'.<sup>10</sup> However, easily the most famous work in Arabic was a great description of the limits of the kingdom and contingent parts of the world by al-Idrīsī.

It is usually understood that the geographer, al-Idrīsī, was full of genuine praise for Roger II. Indeed, there is no doubt that his recollection of the king's personal interest in the sciences appears authentic enough. Al-Idrīsī was regarded with some scepticism by later Muslim authors, probably in virtue of successful and sustained employment by Christian kings. Consequently, he tended to be overlooked by Muslim biographical compilers and practically nothing is known about his background, life or other works. His carefully articulated praise of Roger appears in the introduction to his work the *Nuzhat al-Muštāq fī-'khtirāq al-Āfāq* ('A diversion for the man longing to travel to far-off places'). This work, set solidly in the *masālik wa-mamālik* ('routes and kingdoms') geographical tradition, later became known as the *Kitāb Ruġġār* or 'Book of Roger'. However, al-Idrīsī's comments on Roger's application of the law executed in accordance with his sense of justice that he had derived from his Christian



faith could be read in more than one way.<sup>11</sup> Al-Idrīsī completed the work in 1154, the same year as Roger's death, so the trial and brutal execution of Philip of Mahdiyya and other 'palace Saracens' on religious charges during Ramadan late in the previous year may provide an illuminating backdrop. Indeed, also in 1153, the entire population of the Muslim island of Djerba had been either slaughtered or enslaved by Roger for the second time during his reign. Al-Idrīsī's praise for Roger comes in a difficult panegyric passage and one cannot help but think of those who had been on the receiving end of the King's Christian justice. As such, one cannot rule out that an ironic weft had been woven into otherwise generously fitting flattery for his patron.

The patronage of al-Idrīsī's work in Arabic by Roger II was unusual, if not exceptional.<sup>12</sup> In some respects, it was matched by Roger's commissioning of Nilus Doxopatris's 'History of the Five Patriarchs' in Greek, which argued that Rome had lost its primacy with the transfer to Constantinople. It is highly debatable whether al-Idrīsī continued to work under William I and a considerable amount of confusion surrounds his subsequent output. Princely academics such as Ibn Šaddād who passed through the kingdom in 1156 cannot be classed in the same way as the sponsorship of the original works of 'professional' or patronage-seeking authors such as al-Idrīsī or Doxopatris in Arabic and Greek under Roger II. Indeed, in whatever way we read parts of al-Idrīsī's panegyric of Roger II, we know of no other major original work in either Arabic or Greek that was commissioned by subsequent Sicilian kings.

Limited royal patronage of Arabic poets and writers continued under William I, but are less well attested under William II. In some cases, notably that of the Zirid prince, historian and grandson of Tamīm, Ibn Šaddād, patronage was not likely to have been the object of the visit. Although Ibn Šaddād attended the royal palaces briefly around 1156, his relationship with William I is entirely unknown. More is known of the Egyptian poet, Ibn Qalāqis who dedicated verses to William II, but was more famously patronized by the island's leading Muslim, Abū l-Qāsim.<sup>13</sup> On the science side, Ibn Ġubayr noted how William II was keen to attract astrologers and doctors with economic incentives, but made no mention of patronage of the humanities.<sup>14</sup> Support for the presence of Muslim doctors at court comes from an illustration by Peter of Eboli which shows a doctor called 'Aḥmad' at work in the palace. Otherwise, high-profile Salernitans in Palermo also appeared to have acted as royal doctors under William II.<sup>15</sup>

### The Sicilian kings, their languages and education

While Muslim sources were eager to propagate the idea that the kings were Arabicized, Latin and Greek sources say little of the kings' languages, educational background or in what language(s) day-to-day communication

took place around the palaces. In the case of audiences with barons and churchmen, the most likely language would have been some form of Latin or Latinate dialect and certainly not Arabic. To this extent, the Arabic sources perhaps give the misleading impression that the principal language of the Sicilian kings was Arabic, when some form of Romance dialect was more likely to have been their first choice on many occasions. On the other hand, it is highly doubtful that the kings were merely monolingual. Although the Greek chancery signatures of Roger II, himself the product of a Norman father and 'Lombard' mother, show at least a benevolent disposition towards the language, evidence for his knowledge of Greek otherwise is far from compelling. We know that his early education was in Calabria under the tutelage of his mother Adelaide.<sup>16</sup> Although Calabria was an area influenced by old Byzantine traditions and Greek language, there exists no explicit reference for his acquisition of the language.<sup>17</sup> Certainly, Roger would have been able to hear Greek in the Cappella Palatina where the Greek rite was used along with the Latin and possibly an Arabic rite too. This chapel of his own creation echoed with homilies delivered in the Byzantine Greek style by the orator Philagathos Kerameos, but this does not entail that Roger had any knowledge of Greek.<sup>18</sup>

In fact, we know rather more about the languages of the characters who surrounded the kings. In itself, this may prove to be quite illuminating for the changes in personnel they reveal. Falcandus provides many details of those who were entrusted with the kings' education in the 1160s and '70s. Thus, we are told that Roger's son William I was tutored by Henry Aristippus, said by Falcandus to be as well-versed in Latin literature as Greek – *'tam latinis quam grecis litteris eruditum'*.<sup>19</sup> One of William II's Latin tutors was Peter of Blois, the belle-lettrist and royal *sigillarius*.<sup>20</sup> Peter had arrived in Sicily as part of Stephen of Perche's entourage of thirty-seven 'Franks' in 1166. His letters reveal a profound contempt for Sicily's people, cuisine and climate, although he had avoided the worst of the anti-French sentiment as he was recuperating from malaria on the mainland during the riots of 1168.<sup>21</sup> There is no doubt that Peter's Latin was of a high standard, however his interest in language did not extend to vernaculars other than his own, and he is not believed to have known Greek or Arabic. His spell in Sicily was followed by time spent in France and by twenty-six years in England as the Archdeacon of Bath (beginning in either 1175 or 1183) and later as Archdeacon of London, probably around 1202. During his time in England, he willingly admitted that he had not learned the local parlance – *viginti sex annis in Anglia peregrinans, linguam, quam non noveram, audivi. Heu mihi!*<sup>22</sup> It seems unlikely, therefore, that he would have been inclined to spend his two years in Sicily acquiring Arabic. Given that William II's other tutor was Walter, the Archbishop of Palermo, another who was firmly of the Latin tradition, it is clear that the young King knew Latin well, besides knowing at least some Arabic.<sup>23</sup> In February 1177,

William married a tender 11-year-old, Joanna. The daughter of English King Henry II, Joanna had been born and brought up at the newly-founded Benedictine abbey of Fontevrault in France, and it was presumably in some type of early French or Latin vernacular in which she and William communicated.<sup>24</sup>

If George of Antioch had intended to establish a ‘Greek’ dynasty within the administration through his sons Simon and Michael, then the attempt does not seem to have amounted to much.<sup>25</sup> Administrators of a ‘Greek’ background became increasingly rare after the 1150s, although the prestige of Greek as a cultural and administrative language took some time to suffer as a consequence. Greek does not seem to have been widely known by the Latin contingents at court in Sicily, and Henry Aristippus seems to have been an exceptional figure in that he was one of the few attested ‘Latin’ ministers to have known the language at all.<sup>26</sup>

We cannot be sure that either Roger or the two Williams knew Greek in addition to Arabic and Latin. However, there is some reason to believe that Tancred knew Greek, although, as the illegitimate grandson of Roger II, he was not directly of the royal line. A letter he supposedly wrote in Greek to his wife attracted the scornful attention of a hostile Peter of Eboli: *accepto calamo finitur epistola paucis / exsul quam didicit littera graeca fuit.*<sup>27</sup> However, taken literally, this couplet does not rule out that he had first learned Greek in Sicily. The poorly documented evidence for the king’s languages would seem to end here. The fragmented picture we have is that Sicilian kings are attested to have known *different* languages. However, it is quite possible that all were, in some sense, at least bilingual, and that Roger II and both kings William I and II knew Arabic.

### **The Sicilian translation movement: from Greek and Arabic into Latin**

Many of the island’s ruling elite were notable for their patronage of works composed in different languages and Sicily attracted literati and translators from around Europe and the Mediterranean. In Antioch, which had had a Pisan quarter since 1108, a Pisan called Stephen translated an Arabic medical work known as the *Liber Pantegni* or *Medicaminum omnium breviarum* in the late 1120s. This included a list of trilingual terms (Arabic-Greek-Latin) to which he added the comment that ‘there were experts in Greek and Arabic to be found in Sicily and Salerno, where one could especially find scholars in this discipline, whom anyone could consult who so desired’.<sup>28</sup>

Commissioning work was not a royal pursuit only. Maio, the *Amīr* of *Amīr*-s from 1154–60, submitted a request to Henry Aristippus to translate Diogenes’ book on the lives, habits and doctrines of the philosophers from Greek into Latin. Aristippus was not only William I’s tutor, but also his

personal friend and was attested as Archdeacon of Catania from summer 1156. In November 1160, he replaced Maio as head of the administration on the day after his murder.<sup>29</sup> He was involved (it is not always clear how) in a number of translation works but also had a habit of abandoning or deferring works he had started. For example, he quit working on the translation of the *Opuscula* of Gregory of Nazianzus which had been commissioned by William I as well as Diogenes' *Lives of the Philosophers* in order to concentrate his efforts on the shorter work of Plato's *Meno*.<sup>30</sup> In 1158, Aristippus returned from a diplomatic mission to Constantinople carrying a copy of Ptolemy's *Almagest* as a gift from Emperor Manuel II to William I, but sought the help of another senior minister, Eugenius, to translate it. Eugenius is described in the introduction to the *Almagest* as being an expert at Greek and Arabic, and not unfamiliar with Latin either – *tam grece quam arabice linguae peritissimum, latine quoque non ignarum*.<sup>31</sup> He was also involved with the transmission of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* tales, known subsequently in Greek as *Stefanītis kai Ichnilātis*, from Arabic into Greek.<sup>32</sup>

The transmission of works into Greek and appropriation of Byzantine artistic elements has led to the conclusion that 'Greek culture flourished at the royal court'.<sup>33</sup> However, the sense in which it may have done so is not always clear. In terms of high Byzantine culture, works of ancient Greek may have come to be regarded as either pagan or irrelevant to the establishment and development of orthodox religious thought.<sup>34</sup> Thus, distinctions must be made between greatly varying aspects of wider 'Greek culture' around the palaces. For example, Byzantine culture that refers to art and architecture; the translation of works written in ancient Greek; those capable of reading Greek at court (such as Aristippus); the political influence of native Greek-speakers (George of Antioch, Eugenius and perhaps Christodoulos); the importance of contemporary Greek as an administrative language; the rather strange patronage of Nilus Doxopatrīs and the use of Greek in royal inscriptions and decoration. Another important distinction may be made between the translation of Greek texts into Latin (which did happen in the royal Sicilian palaces) and the academic study of them (which did not).

An accompanying letter to a Latin translation of Plato's *Phaedo* overseen by Aristippus in 1156, speaks of William I, 'whose court is a school'.<sup>35</sup> While this odd comment probably alludes to Plato's Academy, the idea that the palace contained a school may also express a literal truth. Falcandus refers specifically to a schoolroom in the palace, if not actually a school, and related how prisoners broke free from the palace dungeons and carried themselves off towards the palace's lower entrance in order to find the King's sons in the school.<sup>36</sup> However, Walter, their tutor, had already taken them off to the bell-tower. If the palace did contain a school, it is not known who attended or what academic activities took place there, although it

would have been an obvious place for translation activities generally, including the grooming of scribes and the education of the kings' sons.

In contrast to the translation of administrative documents, the translation of cultural and academic works was almost always only a one-way process; from Greek into Latin; from Arabic into Latin, or from Arabic to Greek and then into Latin. Important works did not tend to be translated against the flow towards Latinization, although they were sometimes originally commissioned in those languages. Two famous contemporary titles previously mentioned were never translated, perhaps in part because of the tendency to concentrate on the transmission of ancient works. Thus, al-Idrīsī's Arabic 'Book of Roger' and Nilus Doxopatri's politically sensitive work in Greek, the 'History of the Five Patriarchs', were both commissioned by Roger II but never made it into Latin. On the other hand, it is possible that these 'social sciences' may have been considered as being of lower prestige than works of science or philosophy. Once the transition into Latin had been established via translation, there remained little interest to review the original texts. Latin, as the language into which translations were made therefore clearly held the status of prestige language. On the other hand, the original texts, having been translated, were now no longer required, not even for reference purposes, which doubtless contributed to the trend towards the cultural and linguistic ascendancy of Latin over Arabic and Greek. It might be added that while it would be unsafe to infer too much about the language of the sponsors from such conspicuous patronage of major work, no dealings with works in Arabic are known to have involved non-Arabic speakers.

### Arabic speakers among the ruling elite: the 'palace Saracens'

As we have seen, a significant group of staff employed in the royal palaces and administration during the Norman period were the so-called 'palace Saracens'. Given the North African origins of most of these and their involvement with Arabic registers in the fiscal administration, it can be inferred that all were Arabic-speaking.<sup>37</sup> Perhaps the best-known 'palace Saracen' was *qā'id* Peter, who was also known as Barūn and later attested as Aḥmad al-Ṣiqillī when he finished his career in North Africa in the service of the Almohads. He is noteworthy from a language point of view because Ibn Khaldūn noted that he came from the island of Djerba and was from the Berber Sadḡiyyān tribe, who according to al-Idrīsī were distrusted by the Arabs because they were Kharijites and spoke only Berber.<sup>38</sup> At least in his case, he must have known Arabic too, as he was involved in the production of Arabic registers from the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma'mūr*. A notable survivor among the 'palace Saracens' was *qā'id* Richard (c.1166–87) who witnessed a bilingual Latin–Arabic chancery document in Arabic and whose career we will examine shortly.<sup>39</sup>

There is precious little that directly relates to the language(s) of the ‘palace Saracens’ and most of the evidence to be gleaned from their ethnic origins is circumstantial, but fits intuitively well with what we might have expected of them. That is to say, that they came from, or fitted into, Arabic-speaking, Muslim backgrounds. Although some of the ‘palace Saracens’ were highly trained, they were educated for administrative purposes and did not, as far as we know, contribute directly to the academic life of the kingdom in any language.

Quite how the ‘palace Saracens’ communicated around the palace with the non-Arabic members at court, such as some of the *familiares regis*, remains a mystery. As some were educated specifically to work in the Arabic *dīwān*, they may have been taught either Greek or Latin. Collaboration on bilingual documents suggests that at least some Arabic-speaking notaries may have known either Greek or Latin. How widespread this linguistic knowledge might have been is impossible to gauge. We can only surmise that ‘palace Saracens’ such as *qāʾid*-s Richard and Peter who served as *familiares regis* alongside colleagues from predominantly Latin backgrounds, must have been able to communicate in at least one of these languages or related dialects.<sup>40</sup>

One solution to communication problems at court would have been the use of interpreters. The chief and fatal objection to this is that their existence is neither attested nor alluded to. Falcandus often spoke of notaries in attendance around the palaces, but they did not appear to have any specific role as interpreters and it remains quite unclear how different parties could have communicated around the palaces.<sup>41</sup> As we shall see in chapter seven, there are considerable doubts whether Latin scribes could have translated all the Arabic adequately had they been required to do so on their own.

### The *Mustakblif* in the royal palace

Certainly no interpreters were required when the Spanish Arab traveller Ibn Ġubayr had a brief, but curious encounter with a *mustakblif* or ‘deputy official’ in Palermo, to whom he, and at least one other companion, had been taken for questioning about his intentions and information.<sup>42</sup> What happened is translated in full:

then the *mustakblif* came out to us proceeding slowly between two servants on either side of him who lifted his flowing trail. We looked on an old man with a long white moustache – a man of splendour. Next, he asked us about our purpose and about our country in fluent Arabic (*bi-kalām arabī layyin*). We told him; he showed us sympathy and bid us leave having kindly wished us farewell. We were struck by his concerns; his first question to us had been about news of great

Constantinople and what we knew of it, but we had nothing which we could tell him'.<sup>43</sup>

The meeting is intriguing because of the specific language reference it contains and the mystery that surrounds the identity of the high-ranking, Arabic-speaking official. The *mustakhlif* clearly knew Arabic well and may indeed have been a native speaker. Evidently, he was an old man in 1184, and he was also sufficiently senior to be concerned with matters of foreign affairs and almost certainly knew of the Sicilian attack on Constantinople planned for the following year. The most obvious Arabic-speaking candidate at that time would have been *qā'id* Richard who was in the final years of a long stay in high office as one of the royal *familiares*,<sup>44</sup> the *magister palatii*<sup>45</sup> and/or *magister regie duane de secretis*.<sup>46</sup> As one of the 'palace Saracens', we might infer that Richard was a eunuch, which is supported by an implication in Falcandus: *gaytus quoque Richardus illi cum ceteris eunuchis infestissimus erat*.<sup>47</sup> However, unlike the other 'palace Saracens', Richard appears to have been a genuine Christian convert and was said by the Bishop of Patti to have been the brother, patron and protector of his church.<sup>48</sup> As a 'palace Saracen', we might also have expected Richard not only to be a eunuch, but also fit the bill as a native Arabic speaker. However, the *mustakhlif* Ibn Ġubayr met had 'a long white moustache' which would seem intuitively incompatible with the effects of total castration, which tended to be done in pre-adolescence.<sup>49</sup>

The other prime candidate is Matthew of Salerno, also known as Matthew of Ajello, Matthew the notary and, quite possibly as *qā'id* Mātāw.<sup>50</sup> Although he is sometimes given the appellation 'of Salerno', he was raised for office *in aula regia a puero enutritus*.<sup>51</sup> In spite of his implication in Maio's murder, he was groomed for office under his direction.<sup>52</sup> Falcandus held a predictably dismal view of Matthew but denied neither his ability nor his intelligence. On the contrary, he twice claimed that Matthew was the cleverest (or perhaps the most devious?) at court – *ceteris omnibus astutia preminebat*.<sup>53</sup> His astuteness is also supported by Romuald of Salerno who favourably referred to him as a *homo sapiens et discretus*, which was exactly the same phrase he had earlier applied to King Roger himself.<sup>54</sup> In 1161, he replaced Aristippus as a *familiaris* after the baronial revolt and political shake-up that followed Maio's assassination, and during Margaret's regency, he partnered Richard Palmer as a *familiaris* under the direction of *qā'id* Peter from May 1166 until the ascendancy of Stephen of Perche towards the end of that same year.<sup>55</sup> After the defeat of the 'French' factions, Matthew served almost continuously as a *familiaris* and/or as vice-chancellor from spring 1168 until December 1188 before assuming the position of chancellor from 1190–3.<sup>56</sup> His family also involved itself successfully in the politico-religious scene of southern Italy over the same period.<sup>57</sup> We have little direct

evidence relating to Matthew's languages, however his administrative, and by implication, his varied linguistic skills, were particularly in demand. Falcandus recorded the immediate administrative problems in the wake of the palace ransack:

However, since neither the differences of lands and fiefs, nor the ways and institutions at court, nor the customs' books, which they call 'the *defetars*' were known to them [i.e. the other *familiares*; Richard Palmer, Count Silvester and Henry Aristippus] and could not be found after the capture of the palace, the king was happy (and it was seen as necessary), to bring Matthew the notary from prison and recall him to his old position . . . as he was thought able to compile new registers [*defetarii*] containing the same things as the previous ones.<sup>58</sup>

There can be little doubt from Falcandus's description that the registers were the fiscal registers of lands and men kept by the *dīwān*. To assess how damaged or incomplete these registers were, let alone to redraft them, was a task for which knowledge of Arabic, Greek and Latin was a *sine qua non*, such that we might infer that Matthew was trilingual. By comparison, there is nothing to suggest that any of the three *familiares* of the day knew Arabic. The apparent lack of other suitable candidates capable of performing such a task is also notable for what it suggests about how many administrators were capable of knowing their way around the *daftar*-s and relevant multilingual documentation. By 1184 when Ibn Ğubayr visited the palace, Matthew had risen to serve as vice-chancellor and must have been, at the very least, fifty years old. Although the evidence is ultimately insufficient to conclude the identity of the *mustakhlif*, Matthew seems to fulfil the necessary requirements. However, non-native Arabic-speaking senior administrative officers in the palace were not common and George of Antioch, Eugene the *amīr* and Matthew of Salerno are the only three attested. Although few in number, their respective careers spanned the majority of the Norman period and they seem to have reflected a minor but steady demand for such valued skills. By contrast, the bulk of tasks requiring knowledge of Arabic seem to have been performed by the palace eunuchs. The most important of these were in the offices of the *dīwān*; however, there were many other permanent staff who were employed in lower-level vocations around the palace complexes.

### Arabic-speaking ancillary staff in the royal palaces

One of those Ibn Ğubayr met during his trip through Sicily was a certain 'Abd al-Masīḥ ('slave of the Messiah') who is described as being one of the leading servants of the palace in Messina.<sup>59</sup> Part of the meeting took place in private and 'Abd al-Masīḥ was keen that no other servants should



overhear their discussion, which revolved around news of Mecca and how Ibn Ġubayr might regale him with some expensive souvenir bought from the holy city – which he obligingly did. Nothing else is known of this ‘Abd al-Masiḥ outside this encounter. Besides the religious implications of this meeting, there are important language considerations too. Since Ibn Ġubayr was an Arabic speaker and the meeting took place strictly in private, we may infer that ‘Abd al-Masiḥ was also Arabic speaking, and as he had dismissed the other servants in attendance because he did not want them to overhear this conversation, we may equally infer that these servants must have been able to understand Arabic in order to have posed a threat to their privacy. Thus, it would appear that at least some of the minor staff in the palace were Arabic speakers. Given that the palace was located in Messina, a predominantly ‘Greek’ and ‘Latin’ town with hardly any Arab-Muslim population, it shows the extent to which this royal retreat was culturally and linguistically incongruous with its surrounding environment.<sup>60</sup> This conclusion is supported by evidence from another, apparently Arabic-speaking, servant Ibn Ġubayr encountered in the Messina palace, Yahya bin Fityān al-Ṭarrāz.<sup>61</sup>

The impression created is that the palace complex at Messina abounded in Arab-Muslim culture. Indeed, Ibn Ġubayr precedes his description of the palace at Messina with a list of Islamic influences at court, including a Muslim head chef, a retinue of black Muslim slaves (from the *bilād al-Sudān*?) and servants in fine clothing mounted on horses.<sup>62</sup> This last description is reminiscent of Alexander of Telese’s description of the silk-clad palace staff in Palermo at Roger II’s coronation.<sup>63</sup> As Sicily was renowned for its silk industry, it is perhaps not surprising to find the palace staff dressed in silk, and indeed, these garments may even have been made within the royal palaces. The servant in Messina whom Ibn Ġubayr met was himself an embroiderer and it is possible that the royal palace(s) had its own small-scale *ṭirāz*, or silk workshop in the way of many Arab-Islamic courts since Umayyad times.<sup>64</sup> Alternatively, it has been argued that the silk was simply prepared in the royal treasury.<sup>65</sup>

### Re-animating the tradition? The reputed language interests of Frederick II

The importance for Sicilian rulers to at least appear to know the languages of their subjects and therefore profess some knowledge of Arabic seems to have continued as an ideal into the mid-thirteenth century. Arabic as a spoken language in Sicily was by then a minority, low-prestige language, but at first sight, it paradoxically appears to have maintained some prestige status at the highest level. However, closer inspection reveals such apparent knowledge may be little more than eulogy of a ruler keen to be seen as a polymath of his day in the perceived style of the old Sicilian kings.

Although the central administration and plurilingual palaces of the Norman period dissolved quickly after 1190, as had 'French' influence at the expense of 'Italian' and 'German', there was a limited re-animation of courteous culture under Frederick II. Contemporary sources record his flair for languages with a suspicious degree of inconsistent reverence that suggests such prowess had by then become part of a panegyric *topos*. When the astrologer Michael Scot donated a copy of his translation of Avicenna's *De Animalibus* to his patron Frederick II, he addressed an elegaic couplet to the King himself: *latinum arabicum sclavicum teutonicum arabicum (sic) / felix elmelic dober Friderich salemelich!*<sup>66</sup> 'Latin, Arabic, Slavic, German, Arabic / Blessed the glorious King Frederick, peace be upon you!' By implication, it would seem that Scot was either quoting the four languages known by Frederick or perhaps the languages of the peoples over whom he held sway. A fourteenth-century source, Giovanni Villani, gives a more explicit account, claiming that the same King knew half-a-dozen tongues: *questo Federigo ... seppe la lingua latina, e la nostra volgare, tedesco, e francesco, greco e saracinesco.*<sup>67</sup>

A fascinating anecdote is related by the Franciscan Friar Salimbene, concerning a language experiment that Frederick is supposed to have re-created. Between 459 and 454 BCE, the Greek historian Herodotus made an extended study visit to Egypt. In the temple of Hephaistos at Memphis, the priests told him of a bizarre language experiment that had been conducted some 200 years previously.<sup>68</sup> The Egyptian King Psammitichos I (663–610 BCE), keen to know whether Egypt was older than Phrygia, had ordered that two babies be isolated from mainstream human company to see which tongue the infants would naturally adopt first. The experiment continued until both children repeatedly uttered the word 'bekos', the Phrygian for 'bread', and the debate was settled. Almost 2,000 years later, Frederick reputedly conducted his own version of the experiment, in an account related by Salimbene, the outcome of which was equally cruel and predictably inconclusive.<sup>69</sup> But even if Frederick's alleged linguistic prowess was overstated and his language experiment a fiction, such language interests show his eagerness to be presented as belonging to the long and prestigious tradition of multilingual Sicilian kings who aspired to knowing the great languages of their day, and, as rulers of the world's peoples, those of their subjects too.

### Non-Arabic speakers: the rise of the 'Latin' contingents

If the examples of kings, administrative staff and ministers give the impression that bilingualism of various sorts was standard in the royal palaces during the Norman period, then we might note that there were many others in key positions of power whose language knowledge was rather more restricted and who were most probably *not* Arabic speakers.

Indeed, if Falcandus was our only source for the royal palaces, then there would be no reason to believe that anything but some type of French or Latin was ever spoken there. In an explicit language reference, the Spanish knight Rodrigo, when prompted to take over the chancellor's position, replied that 'he was ignorant of the language of the Franks, which was of the highest necessity in court'.<sup>70</sup> This certainly implies that some dialect of Gallo-Romance predominated at court around that time. However, from 1166–8 the Sicilian court was dominated by a Frankish contingent who had arriving with Stephen of Perche subsequently assumed the position of chancellor and who, like Rodrigo, was a relative of the regent Margaret. Thus, while Falcandus's remark may be true for the *familiares regis* of that period, as we have seen, it could not have been representative of the wider language situation in the palace over the entire period of the *regnum*.

Evidence for Arabic speakers among the 'Latins' of the ruling elite is scarce and sometimes confusing. For example, if we were to be impressed that the Norman baron William Malcovenant wrote his name in Arabic, we should also note that his signature ran shakily from left to right, not right to left as Arabic is traditionally written.<sup>71</sup> Also debatable is the chief minister Maio's Latin signature that confirmed an Arabic-only diploma and that contained an administrative oversight made by the scribe. However, that the error was not noticed by Maio does not necessarily imply that he did not know Arabic, as some have suggested.<sup>72</sup> Nor, for that matter, does the act of signing an Arabic document imply that he knew Arabic either. Rather, in this case, his oversight suggests that he had simply not checked the text against the terms of the donation.<sup>73</sup> These examples also beg the question of what it is to know a language. When we are indirectly told that William II reads and writes Arabic, we can only guess at how accomplished he actually was. Indeed, the question of language competence among the chancery scribes who wrote Arabic decrees and registers and the Greek and Latin scribes who were employed to translate them forms an important part of the debate in the following chapters.

As for the attested presence of Arabic speakers around the royal palaces, evidence drawn from a number of sources suggests that the kings, the 'palace Saracens', many chancery scribes and perhaps all the minor ancillary staff seem to have been Arabic-speaking throughout the *regnum* period. However, the palace and administration were also characterized by plurilingualism as there were also many Greek-speaking and Latin scribes of all ranks besides the *familiares regis* with their variety of Gallo and Italo-Romance dialects. Levels of bilingualism are more difficult to assess, but there is more evidence for Arabic or Greek-speakers who knew other languages than for 'Latins' who knew Arabic or Greek. Finally, attested examples of trilinguals among the ruling elite are rare, but notably centre on the more senior administrative figures and, indeed, the kings themselves. Although the influences around the kings did change over the course of the

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century, there is no evidence to suggest that the kings correspondingly lost their interest in Arabic or their taste for southern Mediterranean culture, much of which was inspired by the Islamic and Byzantine traditions. While the key administrators around Roger II appear to have been men of Arabic and/or Greek-speaking backgrounds, those that dominated the political scene in William II's day were educated, often to a high degree, in the Latin tradition. Indeed, the limited information that relates to William II's literacy and education at the hands of 'Latins' while surrounded by the Arabic speakers in the palaces tentatively suggests that his formal education may have been wider, and perhaps more academically-based, than that of Roger II.

## DEFINING THE LAND: THE MONREALE REGISTER OF BOUNDARIES FROM 1182

### The foundation of Santa Maria Nuova in Monreale

Of all the registers of lands and men from Sicily in the Norman period, undoubtedly the most significant were those that recorded the enormous concessions to the church of Santa Maria Nuova in Monreale, 10 km to the south-west of Palermo. A royal privilege was issued to the newly-founded church on 15 August 1176 by King William II in which it was granted more than 1,200 km<sup>2</sup> of the Val di Mazara with all its estates and men in perpetuity. Since the mid-ninth century, this part of western Sicily had been the densest zone of Muslim settlement. Indeed, it had remained so during the Norman period until the forced deportations of Muslims to Lucera on the Italian mainland in the mid-thirteenth century following the series of rebellions that began on William's death in 1189. In all, three registers were issued to Monreale between 1178 and 1183. Two were written in Arabic and Greek and recorded the names of the villeins who lived and worked on the donated estates. The third, a translation from Arabic to Latin, was issued on 15 May 1182, six years after the original donation had been made.<sup>1</sup> This comprised of 50 boundary definitions including the *magna divisae* of Ġāṭū (Iato) and Qurulūn (Corleone) with their internal estates and the confines of Baṭṭallārū and Qal'at al-Ṭrāzī.<sup>2</sup>

These registers are immensely important for a number of major subject areas as well as for several derivative specialist fields. Administratively, they offer explicit evidence for the organization and management of royal lands and how the Sicilian kings came to impose Christian rule over a largely Muslim population. The registers of men contain the full names of several thousand villeins and are essential for reconstructing the social history of the area on the eve of the Muslim revolt after more than a century of Christian rule. More specifically, the Monreale register of boundaries is our most comprehensive extant source for peeling away the complex layers of toponymy and micro-toponymy of western Sicily.<sup>3</sup> In addition, careful examination of the registers' languages allows a precious insight into the dialects of medieval Sicilian Arabic as well as the development of modern,

Romance-based Sicilian dialects.<sup>4</sup> In this latter respect, the 1182 boundary register holds a special place in the evolution of the royal fiscal administration as it was Latin, not Greek, that accompanied the original Arabic text for the first time. As such, it is a particularly important and early provider of evidence for the transmission of loan words from Arabic into Latin.

The register itself consists of seven sheets of stitched parchment, 5m 20 cm in length and between 60–70cm in width, that contained 375 lines of Latin and Arabic texts of the same set of boundaries. The Latin precedes the Arabic even though the former was translated from the latter. In fact, it was standard practice for Arabic to appear at the bottom of royal bilingual or trilingual texts and inscriptions in which Latin and/or Greek had also been used. This order of languages conspicuously undervalued the importance of Arabic within the royal *dīwān*'s administration. As we have seen, even as the main spoken language on the island during the twelfth century, Arabic did not command the same prestige status as the Romance dialects of the new ruling elite and Latin church.

#### **Recording oral testimony: *boni homines*, *daftar-s* and the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma'mūr***

By at least the late 1140s, the royal *dīwān* was keeping fiscal information about lands with records of their boundaries in ledgers that were known as '*dafātir*' in Arabic. The word ultimately comes from the ancient Greek *διφθέρα* meaning a piece of vellum, although the Greek is not attested in Sicily during the Norman period. On the other hand, the Arabic equivalent *daftar* (singular) or *dafātir* (plural) was commonly used and is the likely source from which the Latin loans *defetarii* or *deptarii* were derived.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the boundaries of the Monreale estates are specifically stated to have been copied from the *dīwān*'s own *daftar-s*.

The *daftar-s* themselves had a short but colourful history. The earliest appearance of the term occurs somewhat late in April 1149 in the same donation that first mentions the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma'mūr*, whose responsibilities were to upkeep the *daftar-s*, supervise royal grants of land, organize inquests to establish the confines of land and to issue boundary registers (*ḡarā'id al-ḥudūd*) to landlords.<sup>6</sup> However, in 1161, parts of the royal palace in Palermo were ransacked and burned following the murder of the Chancellor Maio of Bari. Afterwards, the *daftar-s* could not be found and, as we saw in the previous chapter, the notary Matthew was said to have been entrusted with the task of compiling a new set.<sup>7</sup> We might therefore have expected all extant boundary registers to be based on versions found in the post-1161 *daftar-s*. But, as we shall see, many boundary definitions can be shown to predate this, suggesting that not all of the original *daftar-s* could have been destroyed in the riots. Although no

*daftar*-s exist today, we do have several boundary registers that are known to have been based on the *daftar* records. These registers had been copied from the *daftar*-s before being issued, often with an accompanying translation in Greek or Latin. They served to confirm to landlords and churches, territory that had been allotted to them as a reward after the initial conquest, or later as a royal concession. For their part, the administration was keen to define the royal demesne and therefore to limit the possessions and rights of barons or land-owning institutions. The *daftar*-s were an invaluable administrative tool and extant boundary registers copied from them are the most common documentary source in Arabic for twelfth-century Sicily.

Whenever boundary inquests or disputes arose, these could usually be resolved by an inquest's examination of the relevant registers. However, in practice many cases were settled, or established in the first instance, by reference to the testimony of trusted village elders (*boni homines*, *kaloi anthropoi*, *gerontoi* or *šuyūkh*) who retraced the actual confines for the inquiry. In the Monreale boundary register, differing testimonies of the elders were written into the defining concession, although it is clear that many minor estates must still have been uncharted by the end of the Norman period.<sup>8</sup> The fiscal administration therefore continued to be reliant on the oral testimony offered by village elders as a means of establishing confines. Information recorded in the *daftar*-s shows the extent to which the administration drew on this local knowledge as the well-defined procedures involved in obtaining a boundary definition were often included in the text of the register. Thus in 1149;

the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma'mūr* ordered Abū l-Ṭayyib, the son of Sheikh Iṣṭ.fān, the administrative official of Ġāṭū (Iato), to go out in person and, accompanied by the trusted Christian and Muslim elders, to define for them [i.e. the new landlords] the *dīwān* lands in the region of Ġāṭū.<sup>9</sup>

Very often the actual Christian and Muslim elders were mentioned in the text, but it was always the Christians whose names were cited first. If this practice reflected priority given to their evidence, then it presumably conferred on this religious minority a prestige status. We might add at this juncture that, due to the lack of evidence, very little can be inferred about the extent to which Sicilian fiscal structures or the land distribution system was indebted to the practices of the Islamic period. Nonetheless, the majority of boundaries in the Norman period still seem to have been defined *secundum antiquas divisiones Sarracenorum*.<sup>10</sup> In many areas, information for these boundaries was gathered from *boni homines* with Arabic names and copied into the *dīwān*'s own *daftar*-s in Arabic. We might also note a generally discernible relationship between document distribu-

tion and area such that the majority of extant *dīwānī* deeds containing Arabic deal with lands west of the River Salso – widely accepted to have been the areas of heaviest Arab-Muslim settlement. The Salso river itself may also have played an important dividing role during the Islamic period in separating the provinces or *wilāyāt* into the Val di Noto, the Val Demone and the Val di Mazara.<sup>11</sup> To this extent at least, land registry practices on the island had their roots in an Arabic-speaking tradition and these observations may account for the frequent use of Arabic in confirmations subsequently issued by the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Maʿmūr*.

It is undeniable that there was a developed tradition of translating registers between languages, but the practical considerations surrounding the gathering and recording of such information cannot always be reconciled with the language choice of finalized registers. While the *daftar-s* may have been in Arabic, the languages in which royal confirmations were eventually issued varied. Some were composed only in Arabic, but the majority of boundary registers from the 1140s were bilingual (Arabic-Greek) until 1182 when the extensive Monreale boundaries were recorded in Arabic with a Latin translation.<sup>12</sup> However, if the language(s) in which royal *dīwānī* registers were eventually issued concurred with that of the recipient, the latter could be counted fortunate.<sup>13</sup> The *dīwān* had no qualms about dispatching registers in Arabic or in Arabic and Greek to beneficiaries who were unlikely to have been able to read either language. Occasionally, this created administrative problems, but the elegant calligraphic script of the Arabic doubtless served to give the impression of legitimate authority as well as to inform.<sup>14</sup> Thus, in 1145, the Norman baron Walter Forestal received a confirmation written in Arabic and Greek and it is quite plausible that he would have needed to employ a scribe to read it.<sup>15</sup> When the ‘Greek’ monks of S. Nicolò lo Gúrguro (Chúrchuro) received two boundary registers (in 1149 and 1154) written only in Arabic, no one apparently spotted a glaring inconsistency in the text.<sup>16</sup> In this case, the first register had no seal and so another was requested. The only problem was that the re-issued register conceded a different piece of land to the first and, for the next nine centuries, it was not clear to which one the church had been entitled. That no one was apparently even capable of translating the registers accurately served only to compound later problems of ownership. This type of confusion can only have added to the need in later periods to produce reliable Latin versions of Greek and Arabic registers, and in the next chapter we will examine some of the problems caused by Latin translations of Arabic.

From a linguistic point of view, the connection between the locals’ oral testimony, the in-house written records from the *dīwān* and the end-product plus translation, is by no means straightforward. In theory, the testimony of locals was recorded directly into the *daftar-s*. These in-house draft versions in Arabic were then copied verbatim into a finalized boundary register



(*ḡarīda*; plural, *ḡarā'id al-ḥudūd*), often with a translation. This could then be issued to confirm a concession to a landlord. But even at first glance, it is evident that the *ḡarā'id al-ḥudūd* tended to use the same particular modes of expression and choice of stylized vocabulary.<sup>17</sup> Of course, there are only a limited number of ways any set of boundaries could ever be written, but as we shall see, the proximity of styles across all three administrative languages suggests the existence of a boundary register genre.

But what then are we to make of the language use in the boundary registers themselves, which featured many terms that had been borrowed and lent from one language to another?<sup>18</sup> The Monreale estates hold the key to solving many of these problems due to the sheer size of the confirmation that accompanied the grant, and which allows a comparison with other boundary registers and the establishment of consistencies within the text itself. However, the Arabic boundary definitions are not as integral as they might at first appear and the Latin translation reveals how chancery practices have informed, and mis-informed, our ideas about the wider language situation.

### Noun duplication in Sicilian Arabic, Greek and Latin

At first appearance, it would seem that the long series of boundaries that describe the internal estates of Monreale and were translated from Arabic into Latin, form two equivalent and seamless texts. However, careful scratching beneath the surface of the text reveals a complex structure of compilation that suggests the Arabic of the *daftar*-s came from several sources at different times.

When confirmation of a register was required, the standard chancery practice was to copy verbatim from an original *daftar* source to produce a new register that could then be dispatched to the recipient of the grant. In some cases, different translated versions in Latin exist of the same Arabic original and an assessment of content and style of different copies thus allows us to infer their relationship. However, the difficulty of assessing style, especially where translation is involved, is that it involves a subjective measure of quality in the comparison of the two texts. This problem of accuracy of comparison and stylistic objectivity is partially overcome by an examination of the way in which land registers were composed. Here, one of the most striking features of boundary register language is how certain words were often repeated consecutively. This trait is subsequently referred to as 'noun duplication' and was common to Arabic, Greek and Latin texts. The use of such noun duplication is significant because the form, frequency of deployment and choice of vocabulary are distinctive and thereby give a hallmark to each boundary description in which they appear. To some extent, this allows them to be used quantitatively and with two beneficial effects. First, we can compare more objectively the style of scribes who

wrote the deeds, and second, it may allow us to say something about the relative dating of documents. Establishing chronology has an obvious historical importance, but also allows linguists to infer the origins and direction of stylistic influence, particularly with respect to the use and diffusion of Arabic loan words.

Some form of noun duplication is commonly attested in many languages and Mediterranean dialects are no exception.<sup>19</sup> Particularly common is a repetitive form with the idea of expressing extent such as *pian' piano* (in Italian) or *šwaya šwaya* (in colloquial Arabic). Such cases are usually based around adverbial uses of adjectives, as opposed to nouns. They often include the idea of repetition and most are probably contracted forms such as the Italian *a terra a terra > terra terra; a mano a mano > man' mano* and so on. Superficially similar to this is the repetition of adjectives qualifying a noun to indicate quality or manner e.g. Maltese *raġel twil twil* 'a very tall man'.<sup>20</sup> Finally, a very common type of reproduction occurs when a repeated noun is used to emphasize the indifferent quality of two halves of the same thing e.g. *fifty-fifty, nişf wa-nişf > nuşş nuşş, così così* and so on. However, noun duplication in Sicilian documents of the Norman period, while similar in form, functioned quite differently. All examples followed a similar type of written construction, being the duplication of a limited set of nouns that were always introduced by the definite article and usually a verb of motion. The function in each case was to express a measure of extent or continuity. The repeated nouns in question were always geographical features, often characterized by their physical length and were used almost exclusively in boundary registers. The following examples taken from the Monreale boundaries illustrate typical examples in the Arabic. Each is accompanied by a literal translation in English, although the meaning of such doubled nouns might be idiomatically translated as 'continuing along' or 'right along the'. Line references are to the manuscript and the names of the estates are given in brackets: line 225 (Iato) *yaṭlu' al-şulb al-şulb al-laḏī bayn Maġnūġa wa-Şantaġnī*. '[the boundary] rises the ridge the ridge which is between Maġnūġa and Şantaġnī'. Line 229 (Iato) *yanzil ma' al-khandaq al-khandaq 'ilā Wādī al-Bārid yanzil al-wādī al-wādī 'ilā Raḥl W.r.sīn*. '[the boundary] descends along the ditch the ditch to the Bārid River [and] descends the river the river to the estate of W.r.sīn'. Line 263 (Ḥadd Raḥl al-K.lā'ī) *yanzil bayn al-ġurfayn al-abīḏayn al-maġrā l-maġrā 'ilā al-khandaq* '[the boundary] descends between the two white cliffs the stream the stream to the ditch'. Line 267 (Raḥl al-Waṭā) *yaṭlu' al-ḥārik al-ḥārik 'ilā al-sarġ*. '[the boundary] rises the hill the hill to the saddle'. Line 278 (al-Raḥl al-Gadīd) *yarġi' al-maḥaġġa al-maḥaġġa ṭāli'an qiblattan al-şulb al-şulb 'ilā Kudyat al-Mudawwar*. '[the boundary] returns the way the way rising southwards the ridge the ridge to Kudyat al-Mudawwar ('Circular Hill')'. Line 329 (Ḥaġar al-Zanātī) *yatamādī al-ṭariq al-ṭariq 'ilā al-andar al-lati taḥt al-ġinān al-maḏkūr yatamādī al-ṭariq al-ṭariq 'ilā al-Khandaq al-Gariq*.

‘[the boundary] extends the road the road to the threshing floor which is below the aforesaid orchard. [The boundary] extends the road the road to Khandaq al-Ġarīq’. Occasionally, the noun duplicates were preceded by the preposition *maʿ* or *bi-* (literally, ‘with’).

The origins of the word-doubling genre are somewhat obscure, but we do know that these characterized the earliest Sicilian boundary registers and that these were made in either Greek or Arabic. Gerhard Rohlfs might well have been right to have suspected Greek origins, but then he thought the earliest example was from 1136, and tenuously linked it to Calabrian Greek dialects.<sup>21</sup> Certainly, noun duplication was attested in Greek and later in Latin boundary registers too. The Greek shared a similar choice of vocabulary to the Arabic, along with the use of the definite article and a preceding verb of motion. Thus, we find τὸν ποταμὸν ποταμόν (‘river’), τὴν ὁδὸν ὁδόν (‘road’), τὴν χέτην χέτην (‘hilltop’), τὸ ριάκην ριάκην (‘stream’).<sup>22</sup> All the aforementioned examples, with the usual variant spellings, are widely attested in both royal and private registers. The Greek used a very limited lexicon, narrower than the Arabic, and one that only doubled words for roads, rivers and hills. The use of different terms, other than the four nouns cited above, are hardly known outside these in spite of large amounts of boundary registers written in Greek.<sup>23</sup> However, the Greek also exhibited some significant differences from the Arabic which suggests its priority. The first clue comes from the use of τὰ ἴσα (literally, ‘the same things’) in Greek boundary registers where the sense is ‘straight on’. On at least one occasion, this follows a noun pair and seems to confirm their meaning. Thus, in a register from 1109 that was itself a confirmation from 1097, we find ὁ χέτης χέτης τὰ ἴσα.<sup>24</sup> Significantly, we even find the use of τὰ ἴσα ἴσα (‘straight on’) in both twelfth-century Sicilian Greek and later dialects.<sup>25</sup> The Greek use of duplication in the nominative case was not uncommon and is attested as early as 1092.<sup>26</sup> Notably, this nominative use in the Greek was not shared by the Arabic. Thus, the Arabic was used in a grammatically more restricted sense than the Greek and had no doubled equivalent for τὰ ἴσα. A further argument for the originality of the Greek genre over the Arabic comes in a bilingual (Greek–Arabic) definition from 1172.<sup>27</sup> Here, the Greek not only contains more information than the Arabic, but also more noun duplication, thus faintly suggesting the priority of the Greek.<sup>28</sup>

Noun duplication in Latin is attested later than both Greek and Arabic. As we have seen, the earliest Greek boundary register in insular Sicily with word pairs dates to 1092;<sup>29</sup> the earliest pair in Arabic are attested in 1104<sup>30</sup> and the earliest example in Latin dates to 1108, although this was probably a translation itself.<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately, tracing the thin trail of pre-1100 documentary evidence peters out almost immediately. However, the fact that there are no early appearances in a text originally thought to be written in Latin, suggests that Latin scribes probably borrowed such expressions from Greek and/or Arabic when they arrived in Sicily. In addition, the Latin

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was always preceded by a preposition (usually ‘*per*’) thus giving it a slight syntactic difference as if the meaning of the duplicated nouns needed some clarification. Examples attested in later Sicilian documents show that Latin had come to draw on a much wider lexicon than either Arabic or Greek and outlived the languages from which the expression appears have been derived.

The origins of noun duplication may be uncertain, but there is little real doubt that this genre was not already part of an established written boundary register tradition before the use of Latin in such Sicilian records. This distinctive genre, which occurs in both royal and private Sicilian deeds, also illustrates the extent to which the island had developed its own administrative traditions by 1100 in more than one language. It also hints that the administrative convergence of styles that would characterize later bilingual charters had already begun to happen. This convergence of styles and the effect it has on the language question will be fully explored in the following chapter and also has implications for the administration of the Islamic period, which cannot be discussed here.

Common as the use of noun duplication was in the Monreale boundaries, it was not used uniformly. This uneven distribution is of significance in that it can shed light on the involvement of different hands in the composition of the Arabic text. We can see from the table below the type, frequency and distribution of noun duplication boundary by boundary (see Table 6.1).<sup>32</sup>

Table 6.1 Distribution of noun duplication with equivalents and references from the 1182 Monreale register of boundaries

<i>Estate</i>	<i>Arabic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
1 <i>Magna divisa of Iato</i>	<i>al-ḥāʾiṭ al-ḥāʾiṭ</i> <i>al-ṣulb al-ṣulb</i> <i>al-wādī l-wādī</i> <i>al-tariq al-tariq</i> <i>maʿ al-kbandaq al-kbandaq</i> <i>al-wādī l-wādī</i>	> p[er] mur[um] mur[um] > p[er] cristam cristam > – > p[er] uia[m] uia[m] > cu[m] uallone uallone > p[er] flum[en] flum[en]
2 Maḡnūḡa	–	–
3 al-Duqqī	–	–
4 al-B.lwīn	<i>al-minšār al-minšār</i>	> p[er] serra[m] s[er]ram
5 Raḡl Būfurīra	<i>al-wādī l-wādī</i> <i>al-ṣulb al-ṣulb</i>	> p[er] flumen flumen > p[er] cristam cristam
6 Raḡl al-Māya	–	–
7 al-Maḡaḡī	–	–
8 Sūminī	<i>al-ṣulb al-ṣulb</i> <i>al-ṣulb al-ṣulb</i> <i>maʿ al-ṣulb al-ṣulb</i> <i>maʿ al-maḡrā l-maḡrā</i>	> p[er] cristam cristam > p[er] cristam cristam > p[er] cristam cristam > cu[m] riuulo riuulo
9 Malbīṭ	<i>maʿ al-ṣulb al-ṣulb</i>	> p[er] crista[m] cristam

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<i>Estate</i>	<i>Arabic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
10 Q.rūbn.š	<i>al-mağrā l-mağrā</i> <i>al-wādī l-wādī</i>	> p[er] riuu[m] riuu[m] > p[er] flum[en] flum[en]
11 Raḥl al-Kalā'ī	<i>al-mağrā l-mağrā</i> <i>al-minšār al-minšār</i>	> p[er] riuu[m] riuu[m] > p[er] serra[m] serra[m]
12 Q.rūbn.š al-Suflā	<i>al-ṭariq al-ṭariq</i> <i>al-ḥārik al-ḥārik</i> <i>al-minšār al-minšār</i>	> p[er] uia[m] uia[m] > p[er] terter[um] terter[um] > p[er] serra[m] serra[m]
13 Raḥl al-Waṭā	<i>al-ḥārik al-ḥārik</i> <i>ma' al-maḥağğa l-maḥağğa</i>	> p[er] terter[um] terter[um] > p[er] uia[m] uia[m]
14 al-Andulsīn	<i>al-wādī l-ğārī (sic)</i>	> p[er] flum[en] flum[en]
15 Manzil Zarqūn	<i>al-ṭariq al-ṭariq</i> <sup>33</sup>	> –
16 Bū N.fāṭ	<i>al-mağrā l-mağrā</i> <i>al-ṭariq al-ṭariq</i> <i>al-ṭariq al-ṭariq</i>	> p[er] riu[um] riu[um] > p[er] uia[m] uiam > p[er] uia[m] uia[m]
17 Raḥl ibn B.r.ka	<i>al-ṣulb al-ṣulb</i> <i>al-khandaq al-khandaq</i>	> p[er] crista[m] crista[m] > p[er] uallone[m] uallone[m]
18 Raḥl Laqmūqa	<i>al-khandaq al-khandaq</i> <i>al-minšār al-minšār</i> <i>ma' al-ṭariq al-ṭariq</i> <i>al-wādī l-wādī</i>	> p[er] uallonem uallone[m] > p[er] crista[m] crista[m] > cu[m] uia uia > p[er] flum[en] flum[en]
19 Raḥl al-Ġadīd	<i>ma' al-khandaq al-khandaq</i> <i>al-maḥağğa l-maḥağğa</i> <i>al-ṣulb al-ṣulb</i>	> p[er] terter[um] terter[um] > p[er] uia[m] uia[m] > p[er] crista[m] crista[m]
20 Raḥl 'Amrūn	<i>ma' al-khandaq al-khandaq</i> <i>al-ṣulb al-ṣulb</i> <i>ma' al-ṭariq al-ṭariq</i>	> p[er] uallone[m] uallonem > p[er] cristam cristam > p[er] uia[m] uia[m]
21 Raḥl al-Būqāl	–	–
22 Raḥl al-Ġalīz	<i>al-ṣulb al-ṣulb</i> <i>al-mağrā l-mağrā</i> <i>al-mağrā l-mağrā</i> <i>al-mağrā l-mağrā</i> <i>al-mağrā l-mağrā</i>	> ad caput criste <sup>34</sup> > p[er] fluctu[m] fluctu[m] > p[er] ductu[m] ductu[m] > p[er] fluctu[m] fluctu[m] > p[er] fluctu[m] fluctu[m]
23 Marāws	<i>al-ṣulb al-ṣulb</i> <i>bi-l-ṣulb al-ṣulb</i>	> p[er] crista[m] cristam > cum crista crista
24 Mārtū	<i>al-wādī l-wādī</i>	> p[er] flum[en] flum[en] ( <i>sic</i> )
25 Raḥl al-Balāṭ	–	–
26 Raḥl al-Mudd	–	–
27 Raḥl al-Sikāk	–	–
28 Daśīsa	–	–
29 Manzil Zumūr	–	–
30 Manzil K.r.štī	–	–
31 Manzil 'Abdallāh	<i>ma' al-wādī l-wādī</i>	> p[er] flum[en] flum[en]
32 Ġār Ša'īb	<i>ma' al-ğabal al-ğabal</i>	> p[er] monte[m] monte[m]
33 Raḥl Ibn Sahl	–	–
34 Ġurf Bū Karīm	–	–
35 Raḥl Biğānū	–	–
36 Manzil 'Abd l-Rahmān	–	–
37 al-Q.mīṭ	–	–
38 Ġaṭīna	–	–

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<i>Estate</i>	<i>Arabic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
39 Ġār	–	–
40 al-Randa	–	–
41 Raḥl al-Ġāwz	–	–
42 al-Aqbāt	–	–
43 Raḥl al-Wazzān	<i>al-maġrā l-maġrā</i>	> p[er] cursum cursum
44 <i>Magna divisa</i> of Corleone	<i>al-wādī l-wādī</i>	> p[er] flum[en] flum[en]
	<i>al-wādī l-wādī</i>	> p[er] flum[en]
	<i>ma' al-wādī l-wādī</i>	> cu[m] flumine flumine
	<i>al-wādī l-wādī</i>	> p[er] flum[en] flum[en]
	<i>al-ġabal al-ġabal</i>	> p[er] monte[m] monte[m]
	<i>al-ṭariq al-ṭariq</i>	> p[er] uiam uiam
	<i>al-ṭariq al-ṭariq</i>	> p[er] uia[m] uia[m]
	<i>al-ġari l-maġrā</i>	> p[er] cursu[m] cursu[m]
	<i>ma' al-minšār al-minšār</i>	> p[er] serra[m] serra[m]
	<i>al-ṭariq al-ṭariq</i>	> p[er] uia[m] uia[m]
<i>al-ḥārik al-ḥārik</i>	> p[er] montem montem	
45 Ḥaġar al-Zanāti	<i>al-wādī l-wādī</i>	> p[er] flum[en] flum[en]
	<i>al-ṭariq al-ṭariq</i>	> p[er] uia[m] uia[m]
	<i>al-ṭariq al-ṭariq</i>	> p[er] uia[m] uia[m]
	<i>al-šaraf al-šaraf</i>	> p[er] serra[m] serra[m]
	<i>al-šaraf al-šaraf</i>	> p[er] crista[m] crista[m]
	<i>al-ġabal al-ġabal</i>	> p[er] monte[m] monte[m]
	<i>al-wādī l-wādī</i>	> p[er] flum[en] flum[en]
<i>al-šaraf al-šaraf</i>	> p[er] crista[m] crista[m]	
46 Ġališū	<i>riġl al-ġabal riġl al-ġabal</i>	> p[er] pedem montis pedem montis
47 Fuṭāsina	<i>al-wādī l-wādī</i>	> p[er] flum[en] flum[en]
	<i>al-maḥaġġa al-maḥaġġa</i>	> p[er] publica[m] publica[m]
	<i>al-mā' al-mā'</i>	> p[er] aqua[m] aqua[m]
	<i>al-mā' al-mā'</i>	> p[er] aqua[m] aqua[m]
48 Santa Agnes	<i>al-kbandaq al-kbandaq</i>	> uallone[m] ( <i>sic</i> )
	<i>ma' al-šulb al-šulb</i>	> p[er] crista[m] crista[m]
	<i>ma' al-šulb al-šulb</i>	> p[er] crista[m] crista[m]
	<i>ma' al-ṭariq al-ṭariq</i>	> cu[m] uia uia
49 Battellaro	<i>al-ḥudb al-ḥudb</i>	> p[er] gibbum gibbum
	<i>al-šulb al-šulb</i>	> p[er] s[er]ra[m] s[er]ra[m]
	<i>al-maġrā l-maġrā</i>	> p[er] riuulu[m] riuulu[m]
	<i>ma' al-wādī al-wādī</i>	> p[er] flum[en] flum[en]
	<i>ma' al-wādī al-wādī</i>	> p[er] flum[en] flum[en]
	<i>al-maġrā l-maġrā</i>	> p[er] aqueductu[m] aqueductu[m]
	<i>ma' al-šulb al-šulb</i>	> p[er] uallone[m] uallone[m]
	<i>ma' al-šulb al-šulb</i>	> p[er] s[er]ra[m] s[er]ra[m]
	<i>ma' al-ṭariq al-ṭariq</i>	> subt[us] alt[er]a alt[er]a
	<i>al-šulb al-šulb</i>	> p[er] uia[m] uia[m]
<i>al-kbandaq al-kbandaq</i>	> –	
50 Calatrasi	<i>ma' al-kbandaq al-kbandaq</i>	> p[er] uallone[m] uallone[m]
	<i>al-kbandaq al-kbandaq</i>	> ad uallone[m] ( <i>sic</i> )
	<i>ma' al-kbandaq al-kbandaq</i>	> p[er] uallone[m] uallone[m]
	<i>ma' al-wādī l-wādī</i>	> p[er] flum[en] ( <i>sic</i> )
	<i>ma' al-ṭariq al-ṭariq</i>	> p[er] uia[m] uia[m]
	<i>ma' al-ṭariq al-ṭariq</i>	> p[er] uia[m] uia[m]
	<i>ma' al-maġrā l-maġrā</i>	> p[er] riu[um] riu[um]
	<i>ma' al-wādī l-wādī</i>	> p[er] flum[en] flum[en]

Examining the noun duplication to determine stylistic variation and therefore identify potentially different sources does provide a sense of objectivity, but it remains a blunt linguistic tool. It does not allow us to gauge the aim of dividing up the text stylistically with any degree of certainty. However, it does illuminate a striking difference between those boundaries which were defined using noun duplication and those which were not. Those with no noun duplication at all appear consecutively in the text from Raḥl al-Balāṭ to Al-Aqbāt (nos. 25 – 42) with the exception of Manzil ‘Abdallāh and Ġār Ša‘īb (31 and 32).

Indeed, an absence of noun duplication was not the only feature these boundaries shared. The boundaries of all these estates are written with a characteristically clipped and unembellished delivery. There are no connecting particles such as *fa* (‘so’) or *tumma* (‘then’), nor is there any lengthy paraphrasing as there are in other boundaries. Notably, all the definitions are of similarly short length in the text and are also comparable in their content. All begin by defining the eastern boundary first, whereas most other boundaries in the register begin with the phrases, ‘the start of the boundary is from’ or ‘the boundary begins from’. Besides this, all used the same terms for north, south, east and west. None used *šamāl* and *yamīn* for right and left and none gave any fiscal information about sowing yields appended to the definition as was common with other estates. Finally, they appear grouped together in the manuscript, with one definition following another. There can therefore be no doubt that in terms of both style and content, all are closely linked. Now crucially, the boundaries for Raḥl Ibn Sahl (‘Rahalbensehel’ in Latin) can be dated. They are known to appear in a definition that was made by 1154 as it was precisely these boundaries that featured verbatim in the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma‘mūr*’s incorrectly amended confirmation to the monks of Chūrčuro.<sup>36</sup> Since Raḥl Ibn Sahl can be positively dated to having been made by 1154, it is quite possible that the estates of Raḥl al-Balāṭ, Raḥl al-Muḍd, Raḥl al-Sikāk, Dasīsa, Manzil Zumūr, Manzil K.r.štī, Raḥl Ibn Sahl, Ġurf Bū Karīm, Raḥl Biḡānū, Manzil ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, al-Q.mīṭ, Ġaṭīna, al-Ġār, al-Randa, Raḥl al-Ġāwz and al-Aqbāt were also defined by around that same time.

### Piecing together the estates: genealogy, language and dating

Within some boundaries, details of property or lands contained within the boundaries of other estates are occasionally mentioned. Some references are not only detailed but include cross-references in both definitions. For example, the text of lines 226–7 of the *magna divisa* of Iato states:

From here, the boundary of Ġāṭū is separated from the boundary of Ġafala and is joined by the boundary of Qurulūn. It descends right along the river (*al-wādī l-wādī*) until it comes to Haḡar al-Zanātī.

## DEFINING THE LAND

(Line 227) It joins Wādī Ibn Zurra [and goes] to Khandaq al-Ġarīq, to Raḥl Baḥrī, which is in the tenement of Ġāṭū. From here the boundary of Ġāṭū separates and is joined by the boundary of Qalʿat Ṭrazī. It begins from the cliff of Raḥl Baḥrī, to the church which is inside the boundary of Ġāṭū and which is in the possession of the lord of Qurulūn.<sup>37</sup>

This might be compared to lines 319–20 of the *magna divisa* of Corleone which even includes an identical segment of text:

[The boundary] extends right along the river (*al-wādī l-wādī*) until it comes to Ḥaḡar Zanātī. It joins Wādī Ibn Zurra, [goes] to Khandaq al-Ġarīq, to Raḥl Baḥrī in the tenement of Ġāṭū but it is in the hands of the inhabitants of Qurulūn. It descends along Wādī Sabāya until it joins the flow of water descending from the west of the church. The church is in the boundary of Iato.<sup>38</sup>

In this case, such cross-referencing does not allow us to establish the priority of the definitions. However, it is quite clear from the elaborate nature of these references that when the *magna divisa* of Iato came to be made, there was already in existence detailed knowledge of at least part of the boundary and property held within Corleone. Similarly, the compilers of the Corleone boundaries were able to draw on knowledge of the contents of the *magna divisa* of Iato.<sup>39</sup> Thus, a case can be made that at least some of the limits and property of the Corleone boundary were known, if not established in writing, by the time the *magna divisa* of Iato came to be defined, and vice versa. Within the *magna divisa* of Iato, references are not only made to the boundary of Corleone, but also to Qalʿat al-Ṭrazī, Mazara, Palermo, Qalʿat Fīmī and Ġafala, implying that they too were known before Iato. We might also note that the boundary of Iato is mentioned in Qalʿat al-Ṭrazī. Clearly, if the writing of any of these could be dated, then progress could be made in establishing the priority of some of the boundaries.

Such progress may come from the following direction. The limits of Ḥaḡar al-Zanātī are known to have been defined by 1154. This was defined in a (now lost) register issued in December 1154 under William I and known to us from Latin transumpt from 1258 and 1286.<sup>40</sup> Besides this, the estate may have been mentioned as ‘Raalginet’ in a donation from 1155 in which no accompanying boundaries were given.<sup>41</sup> However, Ḥaḡar al-Zanātī was also one of the internal estates of the *magna divisa* of Corleone and was thus recorded in the 1182 Monreale register. There, the definition of Ḥaḡar al-Zanātī specifically cites details of the boundaries of Corleone al-Maḡāḡī and Iato. Thus, at lines 328–9: ‘[the boundary goes] to the mill of And.rīya. The mill is within boundary of Corleone’.<sup>42</sup> Line 331: ‘the cattle-



shed is in the boundary of al-Mağāḡī. It [i.e. the boundary] returns southwards right along the mountain to Wādī Ḥaḡar al-Zanāṭī. All this boundary is within the boundary of Ġaṭū'.<sup>43</sup> We can conclude that these boundaries of al-Mağāḡī, Corleone and Iato must also have been in some sense known by 1154 too.

Also of importance is that, within the confines of al-Ġār, an internal estate of Iato, is a specific reference to *al-ḥadd al-kabīr*, meaning 'the great boundary' or '*magna divisa*'. In this case, it refers to the *magna divisa* of Iato made in line 312 of the text.<sup>44</sup> Thus, we learn of the estate that, 'its western [part] is from 'Ayn al-Ḥaṣā to Ḥiḡār al-Naḥl, [then] to the top of the mountain where there are cattle-sheds, until it joins the *magna divisa*'.<sup>45</sup> The clear implication of this is that the *magna divisa* of Iato must have been known at the time the boundary of its internal estate, al-Ġār was written down. Certainly, from a practical point of view, it would make administrative sense to define the *magnae divisae* before their constituent parts. However, as the estate that bore the key stylistic similarities and characteristic language of the 'Raḥl Ibn Sahl' boundary set, al-Ġār may be tentatively inferred to have been defined by around 1154. Likewise, this strengthens the already strong suspicion that the *magna divisa* of Iato must also have been defined by around 1154.

Two other estates are known to have been defined before 1182. One was the estate of al-Wazzān, which had been granted to the monks of S. Nicolò lo Gúrguro in 1149.<sup>46</sup> The other is the boundary of Q.rūbn.š (Corubnis Superioris in the Latin) which is discussed in the following chapter. Thus, as far as the composition of the Arabic text is concerned, we might infer that it is probable very many of the boundaries in the Monreale register of 1182 were known before the death of Roger II in 1154. The possible exceptions to this are the boundaries of Battellaro and some of the internal estates of Iato and Corleone for which we have no similar evidence relating to their composition.

## ARABIC INTO LATIN: THE MECHANICS OF THE TRANSLATION PROCESS

### Administrative genres and the transmission of loan words

The *divisa* of Q.rūbn.š, or Corubnis Superioris in the Latin, merits particular attention for a number of reasons. Not only does it appear in the Arabic and Latin of the Monreale register of 1182, but also in a fourteenth-century Latin translation made from the now lost bilingual original that dated from 1173.<sup>1</sup> The Latin version made in 1375 shows signs that parts of it had been taken from a Greek version.<sup>2</sup> This allows a study of document genealogy and facilitates a study of approaches to producing a Latin version from a bilingual Arabic and Greek text too.

Amongst the villeins we meet on the 1375 register are *Vilmar uiù Iusuff* and *Filii Obichir*. In the first example, *uiù* is a transliteration of the Greek *υῖος* meaning 'son'. In the second example, the Greek definite article (*ὁ*) seems to have been agglutinated with the following Arabic name *Bū l-Khāyr* producing the hybrid form *Obichir*. This type of interference and agglutination is attested elsewhere in Latin transliterations of Greek names.<sup>3</sup> However, the boundary definitions towards the end of the register give no indication of having been translated from Greek and appear to have been taken directly from the Arabic of the *daftar*-s. Thus, the Latin rubric explains how 'these are the limits of its boundaries which enclose and contain the whole estate according to what is recorded in the boundary division registers'.<sup>4</sup> There are some notable similarities and differences between the two Latin versions. Although the two Latin treatments of the boundaries themselves are the same in content, their transliteration of Arabic place-names are occasionally at odds. In fact, the dilemma that faced the Latin scribe in the twelfth century as to whether to translate or to transliterate Arabic terms also faced his fourteenth-century counterpart. Some of the similarities and differences in their treatment of the Arabic may be seen in the table below, which cites the place-names in all three documents: *al-uqāb* > Aquile (1182), > Aquile (1375); *k.ndūr* > Kcendur (1182), > Heudus (1375); *al-Gariq* > Garik (1182), > Olgath (1375); *al-m.sqā* > Mesca (1182), > Mashe (1375); *ġamā'a* > Gemaa (1182), > Gemaho

(1375); *al-m.d.q* > Medach (1182), > Medah (1375); *bū-ll.qm* > bulluchu[m] (1182), > vilustri (1375); *marġ Qallāla* > pratu[m] kallele (1182), > muragium Ballele (1375); *ḥalīma* > Halime (1182), > Halene (1375); *al-‘arābī* > Arabis (1182), > Harab(i) (1375); *al-māġina* > megine[m] (1182), > maginam (1375); *Dasīsa* > de syse (1182), > divisa (1375).

Clearly, both Latin scribes' dilemma of whether to translate or to transliterate shows that no lasting solution had been found to the problem of how to deal consistently with the Arabic. As a result, alternative forms for terms such as these continued to be quite common. This suggests that the boundary register genre, although strict in the use of its language, could never have become definitive. It also shows the unstable and changeable status for transliterated terms that coincided with Sicilian dialect words and implies that these may not have become universally used. For instance, in the above examples, we find *marġ Qallāla* (= 'Qallāla meadow') translated in 1182 as *pratu[m] kallele*, but transliterated to *muragium Ballele* (*sic*) in 1375. What cannot be established in such cases is whether repeated use of such terms in the boundary register genre gave rise to Sicilian dialect words. Conversely, one might argue that since a dialect word already existed in the twelfth century and perhaps straddled Latin, Greek and Arabic, it was preferred as a transliteration as opposed to a translation. This predicament highlights a weakness in arguments that seek to establish the widespread or vernacular use of loan words, bi or trilingual terms or pidginized forms in the Norman period. As the first attested use for these multilingual terms often appears in registers that may themselves have been responsible for their very creation and diffusion, it is not immediately obvious if these registers were using pre-existing Sicilian dialect words that had become comprehensible across all three main languages. Alternatively, we cannot be sure whether words and usages that are considered as 'dialect' terms were, in fact, little more than literal transliterations of administrative Arabisms made by chancery scribes. In this case, a justified reticence should be shown about referring to all such terms as genuine loan words. The investigation of the mechanics of the translation process in the following sections sheds more light on the status of such loan words and the impression of linguistic convergence in the spoken languages of Sicily that they give.

### The Arabic-to-Latin translation of the Monreale register of boundaries

The Latin translation of the boundaries of Monreale's estates, which had been originally composed in Arabic and copied from the *daftar*-s of the royal *dīwān*, offers an excellent example of the complex relationships that hold between the two administrative languages. Indeed, the sheer size and importance of the boundary register and the fact that this was the first to be fitted with a Latin (instead of a Greek) translation provide what was presumably considered at the time to be an exemplar of good practice.<sup>5</sup>

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the Arabic appears to be a seamless piece of text, but some of the boundaries can be traced to older versions from which they were copied. Indeed, an examination of distinctive stylistic traits between different sections of the text revealed the involvement of several hands. We cannot be absolutely sure who translated the Latin. However, the Arabic of lines 374–5, stated that:

the aforesaid boundaries be written (*tuktib*) in Latin by the hand of the Latin scribe Alexander (*Al.ṣ.nd.r*) and in Arabic by the scribe Yūsuf at the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma‘mūr*. Then, that which had been issued with the high order (may God increase it in elevation and efficacy!) was obeyed and [the boundaries] were described (*šuriḥat*) in Latin from the Arabic by the hand of the aforesaid scribe Alexander and in Arabic by the hand of the aforesaid scribe Yūsuf from the registers (*dafātir*) of the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma‘mūr*.<sup>6</sup>

The naming of specific scribes in such a bilingual boundary register is unusual, and the *notarius* Alexander, mentioned in the rubric, is well known to us, as is his calligraphy. From November 1174 to August 1189, he was the most prolific of William II's scribes and had been involved in the production of almost half of extant royal diplomas.<sup>7</sup> However, a period in which he was apparently unproductive was between June 1180 and May 1182 whereas in the following year, he produced a total of six charters.<sup>8</sup> As such, it is tempting to associate such a break in production for the period immediately prior to the issuing of the Monreale register with the task of preparing the diploma and copying the Latin.

The Sicilian Arabist Michele Amari was the first to notice certain 'French' influences in the Latin translation of the Monreale register.<sup>9</sup> Of particular note is the striking use of two Latin terms of specifically Gallo-Romance, as opposed to Italo-Romance, origin. These are *altera* < *hautiere*<sup>10</sup> and *terterum* < *tertre*.<sup>11</sup> To this, a third, *dirroitum* < *dirruójitu* has been added.<sup>12</sup> In spite of a number of minor variations in the Latin vocabulary, there is sufficient reason to believe that the Latin was not the work of more than one translator. Besides which, given that these Gallo-Romance terms can be shown to occur throughout the Latin translation, we might infer that the Latin translator was a 'Frenchman'.

### Translation and transliteration in the Monreale register

Of particular interest in the Monreale charter is the way in which a large number of toponyms were translated into Latin from the Arabic, as opposed to being transliterated into Latin from the Arabic. In spite of numerous variations in the Latin, it would be misleading to suggest that the Latin treatment of the Arabic was completely unpredictable. Indeed, several

conditioning factors can be identified which determine whether and how an Arabic word came to be translated or transliterated in Latin. This is significant because the transliteration process was one in which we can witness the birth of new items of vocabulary from the Arabic. When examining conditioning factors in the translation process, it is important to take words under examination within the wider context of the sentence in which they appeared. For instance, we might observe that the Arabic for ‘Jujube trees’ *ašġār ġuġġūw* becomes awkwardly transliterated as *esiar agiu* (line 122 Latin), whereas similar constructions are translated. Thus, *ašġār* > *arbores*; *aĥġār* > *lapides* or *rupes* and so on (see Appendix A). However, if we consider that *esiar agiu* is preceded by *vocatur* ‘is called’ and that of the seventy examples of *vocatur*+noun or *dicitur*+noun, over fifty of them are transliterated, then it would seem that the presence of either of these two was sufficient, but not necessary, to introduce a transliteration. That we can identify these and other conditioning factors at work (see below) in an apparently causal process denies the charge that the translation scheme was unpredictable. The same linguistic mechanism with equivalent phrasing is also apparent in Greek translations of Arabic where the words *ἑπονομαζόμενος* (‘named’) or *λεγόμενος* (‘called’) always pre-empt a transliteration.<sup>13</sup> However, as we shall see, Greek scribes were much keener to transliterate Arabic toponyms than their Latin counterparts.

Another determining factor in the translation mechanism in the Monreale Latin was the use and order of languages in certain phrases. For example, in phrases with two elements (e.g. *mons errah*, *flumen fridigo*, *vallo elgaric* or *terterum turris*), the first element was always Latin. On the other hand, the second element could be either a translation or a transliteration from the Arabic into Latin. This scheme holds true for virtually all cases. Examples of first element terms that are always translated are: *mons* or *monticellus* < *ġabal* (hill); *via* < *ṭariq* (road); *porta* < *bāb* (gate, pass); *crista* < *ṣulb* (crest); *terra* < *rab*<sup>c</sup> (land); *cultura* < *ḥiṣṣa* (plot) and *divisa* < *ḥadd* (boundary). So, as a general rule, we do not see transliteration + Latin combinations. For example, *ġabal caprarum*, *ṭariq mazarie* or *bāb benkays* are impossible combinations and we would instead expect to, and do, find *mons caprarum*, *via mazarie* and *porta benkays*. Nor would we expect to see the combination of two untransliterated Arabic elements together, unless introduced by *vocatur* or *dicitur*. An important group of names that form an exception to this rule where two Arabic elements were compounded to produce a single form in the Latin, as illustrated by the following examples: (line references to the manuscript given. See also Appendix A): *Raĥl-* (‘estate of’) > *Rahalabdella*, 144; *Rahalamrun*, 86; *Rahalbahari*, 12, 13, 142; *(A)bu-* (‘father of’) > *buchaba*, 130; *buchabid*, 81–3; *Qala’t al-* (‘fort of’) > *kalatafimi*, 17, 62, 68, 76, 88; *Kalatahali*, 181, 188, 191, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211; *kalatatrasi*, 74, 76, 77, 88, 117, 200, 204, 206, 207, 209; *Manzil-* (‘house of’) > *Mezelamur*, 112;

mezelhendun, 6; Mezelzamar, 112; mezenkasem, 153; Menselgresti, 112–13, 115; Menzel nusayr, 131; Menzelabdella, 116; Ibn- ('son of') > benarauzi, 160; benbark, 78, 109; bendicken, 82. Some of these names referred to well-known places and not local features of topography or obscure settlements. Thus, they were probably known by their Arabic names both locally and even by Latins. This is supported by modern Sicilian toponyms, many of which have been clearly derived from their Arabic forms via the influence of Latinate dialects. From the examples cited above, we might note the typically Latinate reduction of /nz/ to /z/ or /s/, cf *Manzil* > *Mezel* or *Misel*. In this case, modern Sicilian toponyms such as Mezzoioiso (< *Manzil Yūsuf*) and Misilmeri (< *Manzil al-Amīr*) recall a Romance pronunciation of the Arabic. In this case, by giving the Latinized form of the Arabic, the scribe Alexander seems to have anticipated a usage that would later become standard.<sup>14</sup>

### The Latin versions of flora, fauna and rivers

Yet, in spite of a somewhat quirky approach, the Latin was not the product of a capricious mind as the scribe Alexander can be shown to have employed a particular translation/transliteration strategy. For example, the rivers that ran through the church's estates all followed the same form. First, the term *wādī* was translated as *flumen* or *fluvius*, then the name of the river itself was almost always rendered as a transliteration. The two exceptions to this featured the common adjectives, *bārid* ('cold' > *frigidus*) and *kabīr* ('big' > *magnus*). This stands in direct contrast to the high level of consistency in the Latin treatment of items of flora and fauna which were most usually translated, not transliterated.<sup>15</sup> For example, *Uyūn al-Rayḥān*<sup>16</sup> 'The springs of the myrtle' > *fontes mortille* (231/18); *Danab al-Kabs*<sup>17</sup> 'ram's tail' > *cauda arietis* (274/81) and (275/83); *al-ḍukkāra*<sup>18</sup> 'wild fig tree' > *caprificus* (360/196); *fahṣ al-dardār*<sup>19</sup> 'The plain of the ash tree'; > *campum frascineti* (320/145); *uqdat* (or *ifrat*) *al-khinzīr*<sup>20</sup> 'knot of the pig' > *densitudinem porcorum* (336/166); *Khandaq al-Ṭarfā*(?) 'ditch of the tamarisks' > *vallones tamarici* (285/96); *Khandaq al-Tīn* 'ditch of the figs' > *vallones ficus* (362/199); *marǧ al-ǧidyān*<sup>21</sup> 'the meadow of the goat kids' > *pratium hedorum* (255/55). Only occasionally were flora and fauna toponyms ever transliterated. Indeed, this scheme was applied even if the Arabic vocabulary was sometimes remote and difficult to translate. Thus:

Results for rivers:

Total number of toponyms	= 55
Toponyms of unsure or non-Arabic origin	= 7
Total of translated items	= 19% (9/48)
Total of transliterated items	= 81% (39/48)

Results for flora and fauna:

Total number of toponyms	= 128
Toponyms of unsure or non-Arabic origin	= 12
Total of translated items	= 80% (93/116)
Total of transliterated items	= 20% (23/116)

The effect, if not the intention, of this translation policy was that, in a very large number of cases, Arabic place-names were replaced by Latin ones in the 'official' Latin documentation relating to the concession. In this respect, the Monreale register hailed a significant break with tradition for the royal fiscal administration. Not only was this register the first to be accompanied by a Latin, not a Greek, translation, but the translation strategy also stood in marked contrast to the old Arabic-Greek registers. Whereas previously, micro-toponyms had tended to be transliterated from one language to the other, many were now translated into Latin. Thus, *Bāb al-Rih* became ἐλβεππερίκι in the Greek of a royal register of 1172, but *porta venti* in the Latin of the Monreale version ten years later.<sup>22</sup> Both versions were made in the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma'mūr*. Other place-names mentioned in both the Monreale register and in royal Greek charters bear out the same conclusion. That is to say, the Arabic tended to be transliterated into Greek, but translated into Latin. Thus, we find: *ʿAyn al-Hinās* > ἄιεν ἐλχάναις (Cusa p. 318 in 1154) > *putei serpentum* (Monreale lines 261/64); *darġa* > δάρτζε (Cusa p. 248 in 1183) > *scala* (289/101); *ʿAyn al-Mintina* > ὕδωρ μίντενε (Cusa p. 116 in 1143) > *fons fetidus* (330/159); *al-ṣafṣāf* > τοῦ σαφσάφ (Cusa pp. 516–7 in 1133) > *mons safsaf* (233/20), but then > *salices* (289/101).

Indeed, this Latinization of Arabic place-names was carried out regardless of what names the local Arabic-speaking Muslim majority of western Sicily must have actually been using on a daily basis. It would thus be justified to regard this Latinizing practice with some suspicion given that it was Arabic-speaking elders who lived on the royal estates and who had been instrumental in helping the *dīwān* to define its boundaries. This is indicated several times in the register itself.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, it was precisely in virtue of their detailed knowledge of the local environment that the sheikhs were routinely called upon by royal inquests to settle boundary disputes. Such investigations were organized by the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma'mūr*, the very office in which the register was prepared. In this light, it is barely conceivable that Alexander and his colleagues could have been unaware of the problems that translating place-names might cause in the identification of certain localities. Indeed, the later Medieval period would see precisely this type of confusion caused by the translation of Arabic place-names into Latin, which is no better shown than by the attempts to recover knowledge about the lands once granted to the church of S. Nicolò lo Gurguro, within

the boundaries of Monreale.<sup>24</sup> There, repeated and ill-starred efforts to translate two Arabic boundary registers from 1149 and 1154 in order to discover, among other things, where the villages of Raḥl al-Wazzān and Raḥl Ibn Sahl actually were, soon devolved into farce. By the time that half-accurate Latin/Sicilian translations were eventually made, the old Arabic names had been forgotten and the village of Raḥl al-Wazzān had become known as Fegho Giambasso, while Raḥl Ibn Sahl was called Pernice, as it is today. The possibilities to exploit this type of forgotten knowledge for political or financial gain were not lost on later generations. This was most dramatically shown by the efforts of the Maltese priest Giuseppe Vella towards the end of the eighteenth century to forge an ‘Arabic’ history in which it was implied that many of the Sicilian aristocratic families had usurped their estates.<sup>25</sup>

Conversely, some places mentioned in the Monreale estates retained their original Arabic names for several centuries after the demise of the island’s Arabic-speaking communities. But in Monreale register, these self-same toponyms became Latinized. For example ‘the mountain of the goats’, or, *Ġabal al-Ma‘az* (line 233) in the original Arabic, came to be translated to *mons caprarum* (line 21) in the Monreale Latin. However, this new ‘official’ Latin appellation is unlikely ever to have been in wider use, as the hill is known today as ‘Gibilmesi’. Indeed, the apparent absurdity of this translation scheme in such an important royal charter may cause us to wonder whether, if this was an attempt to bring the administration’s output into line with the wider shifts towards the Latinization of the kingdom by the 1180s at the expense of Arabic and Greek elements, it had come at the expense of common bureaucratic sense.

### Arabic loan words, nonsense words and early Romance Sicilian dialects

As far as the transliteration of nouns was concerned, a common way of adapting the Arabic to fit a Latin standard was to switch the gender from a masculine (in the Arabic) to a feminine (in the Latin), which enabled the noun to be modelled according to the Latin declension. Sounds that were not shared by the Latin were either levelled to an approximate equivalent or, more often than not, ignored completely. Examples of gender switching in loan words from the Monreale document include (line references in brackets): *usq[ue] ad viam que ducit ad babiam [et] transit ip[s]am viam* (9) from the masculine Arabic noun *bāb* meaning ‘door’, ‘gate’ or sometimes in Sicily a ‘pass’. From the Arabic masculine noun *mudīq* which refers to a place where a stream becomes narrow, we find *vadit ad mudicam ubi stillat aqua* (79); *ascendit ad ductu[m] s[e]c[un]d[u]m usq[ue] ad mudica[m]* (141); *ascendit cu[m] via publica usq[ue] ad mudica[m] sicalbe* (146); *ad orientem parte[m] mudica yad* (150). In a Latin-Sicilian transumpt from



1467 we find the phrase ‘*ex parte inferiori la dachala dachala*’.<sup>26</sup> Again the Latin has been transliterated from the Arabic *dağal*, and has then switched genders with the addition of a Latin suffix and then doubled to express a measure of extent following the Sicilian Arabic and Greek usages.<sup>27</sup>

While some such forms are attested in later dialects, there remain considerable doubts as to the status of many other ‘loan words’ and their likely relationship to genuinely dialect forms. The following examples of transliterated forms in the Monreale and other twelfth-century registers suggest that in many cases transliterated words were obscure and abstruse. One wonders how widely understood ‘Latin’ sentences such as *vadit ad saariam ad fontes zufeï zefe ad mesitam berdi* could ever have been?<sup>28</sup> Indeed, it is doubtful that similar such Latin terms could have ever been used as loan words in everyday speech and barely even qualify as examples of meaningful code-switching between bilingual scribes. Among the many incoherent Latin examples in the Monreale register, we find: *al-manāqi*’ > *menaka* (31) ‘bog’; *al-ğ.rīfa* > *hurife* (34) ‘cliff’; *al-qar.būsiyya* > *carbusia* (48) ‘the bottom edge(?)’ (cf. Greek *κορηπίς*); *al-māğina* > *megine[m]* (63) ‘cistern’; *al-kh.b.q.līn* > *hcapkalinos* (71) ‘riding animals(?)’ (cf. Greek *καβαλλικάτα*); *al-mustağilla* > *musticella* (77); *al-q.lī’a* > *coleya* and *culeia[m]* (80 & 82) ‘rugged crest’; *min* ‘.lāb.quwā > *alebaccu* (124 & 127); *nāzilan ilā mālis* > *meles* (145) ‘apiary(?)’ (cf. Greek *μελισσορέα*); *min al-kamīn* > *ghemi* [...] *de chemino* (187) ‘from the furnace(?)’ (cf. Greek *καμίνας*); *yaşil ’ilā dimnat ġarīda* > *p[er]uenit ad fine[m] girrayde* (196) ‘it reaches the remains of a ruin’; *al-q.q.baw* > *caccabei* ‘owl’ (279 & 88) (cf. Greek *κουκουβάγιας* or possibly \**κάκκαβος*).<sup>29</sup> While these, and many other similar examples, often characterize Sicilian registers written in Arabic, what is peculiar about some of these terms is that the Arabic appears to have been derived from Greek precedents in the first place. Indeed, it may have been this very Sicilian of practices that had confused the Latin translator. Examples of Greek loan words in Arabic are sprinkled throughout the documentation of Sicily and many more examples are likely to be unearthed in the years to come as more of these documents are properly re-edited and translated.

Finally, a fascinating example of a term that *prima facie* appears to have been Latinized or Sicilianized by transliteration is found in lines 153/326 of the Monreale deed. Here the Arabic reads ‘*alā al-ħağar al-tābita al-mukhriza* which literally translates as ‘[the boundary passes] over the established, drilled stone’. The Arabic adjective *mukhriza* means ‘bored’ or ‘drilled’ and is not a particularly common word. The phrase has been rendered in the Latin as *et vadit ad petra[m] plantata[m] que est quasi charassata*. Naturally, it is unlikely that the translator had ever actually seen the stone in question. In this case too, it seems that Latin scribe, unsure as to the meaning of the Arabic, had decided to transliterate the term instead of attempting to translate it.

In Sicily, a likely reason for the formation of so many apparent loan words from transliterations and the development of interchangeable administrative forms was the constant practice and continued necessity of translating between Latin, Greek and Arabic registers over an extended period of time. However, even if some terms were actually used in wider speech, this cannot be said of many other more remote loan words formed from code-switching transliterations. Given that many similarly obscure Arabic nouns were treated in this way, it is surprising and unwarranted to find that such terms are commonly assigned the status of early Sicilian ‘dialect’ words.<sup>30</sup> To regard such terms as having the status of medieval dialect words has the potential to mislead in two ways. First, it misunderstands the origins of how some of these words came into being and the contingency of linguistic evidence on administrative practice. Second, it gives the impression that these types of neologisms might have been part of a much wider linguistic process. This has, in turn, contributed significantly to the idea that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the development of a regional pidgin language with elements of Arabic and Romance.<sup>31</sup> In fact, what we often see is interference between Arabic and Greek in the Arabic, which then manifests itself in nonsense words in the Latin. Thus, whilst odd Romance linguistic forms are attested amongst the bilingual translators of the day, there is no reason to extend this practice to the island’s population as a whole even if such a documentary genre was continued into the later medieval period via translations of older registers. On the other hand, the quite different case of interferences between Arabic and Greek will be the subject of chapter eight.

### **Towards an interchangeable, trilingual administrative vocabulary**

As a postscript to the translation–transliteration debate, we might consider how texts based on Latin and Greek were reproduced in Arabic. Notable amongst these are three deeds dating from 1172, 1187(?) and 1242, all of which feature Latin loan words of an administrative type that were transliterated into Arabic.<sup>32</sup> The latter was the final product to be issued from the *dīwān* in Arabic and is somewhat anomalous. The main body of the text was written in Latin and was then translated into Arabic, but the boundaries themselves may have originally been in Arabic and were translated into Latin. The deed itself is rich in so-called ‘Sicilian Arabisms’, although only a few were ever attested elsewhere. Some genuine loan terms such as *yanār* (‘January’ line 1); *usbiṭāl* (‘hospital’ lines 7, 12 and 24); *kanīsyā* (‘church’ line 8) and *burġīsī* (‘townsfolk’ line 6) are relatively common in contemporary documents. But these are matched by a number of administrative neologisms created by rather poor and idiosyncratic transliterations from Latin into Arabic. As such, they support similar conclusions about the role and status of transliterations that we have

already seen from the Monreale concession made some sixty years previously. That is to say, they are a product of a purely administrative tradition. For example, we find in line 6: *akrāk al-ġ.b.la* ('the archbishops of the chapel') which sounds almost as close to *ġabal* ('a mountain') as it does to 'chapel.' In lines 11, 13, 15 and 18, we meet the unlikely-sounding term *al-y.wdġm* (for *iudices* 'judges'). We might also note that while the use of an accusative ending here (in place of a nominative) does indicate colloquial influence, this does not entail that the word itself was colloquial too. *D.s.cūmā* for *vicecomes* in line 18 and *b.nāfīsīw* line 8 for 'beneficiaries' are also unusual, if not entirely unconvincing, transliterations. Likewise, as line 14 we find *sīr* (for 'Sire') where we might have expected either *mawlā-nā*, *ṣāhib*, or perhaps *ṣaykh*. The 1172 version also gives *d.s.cūmā* for *vicecomes*<sup>33</sup> as well as *al-l.ġūtāt* for the Greek 'logothete'. The latter example hints at a Greek model for the translation and is supported by the fact that the dual texts are themselves in Greek and Arabic. Besides this, the name of the only signatory on the document, that of sheikh Ġāfrāy, was in Greek. Nothing else is known about him outside his role cited in this text as *Ṣāhib* ('Master') of the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma'mūr*. Finally, the Arabic version thought to date from 1187, which was based on a francophone Latin translation, gives the examples of *al-ġ.nt.r* ('chorister'), *al-ġ.bla* ('chapel') and *arš.dīyāq.n* ('archdeacon').<sup>34</sup> While these examples show the way in which the roles of the languages had become reversed with the Arabic scribe transliterating from Latin, not vice versa, they also testify to the long-term ascendancy of Latin as the prestige administrative language by this time.

### Trilingual vocabulary: variety and status

While many loan words are attested in any two of the three administrative languages, some terms were recorded in Arabic, Latin *and* Greek, as shown in the examples below.<sup>35</sup> These were all formed from transliterations, with or without inflectional interference. The following list has been compiled from all published Sicilian documents in the Norman period, although many terms were attested in the Monreale registers (see Table 7.1).

A number of interchangeable terms are missing from this list, including the very large body of terms attested in any two of the three administrative languages. Also missing are the names for calendar months and those words such as *funduq* or *burġ* which had a much wider sphere of borrowing outside the administration. The list is also devoid of the many loan words that may also have been transmitted via personal names, such as *murabit* (> *morabito*) or *ḥaġġām* (> *changemis* > *Cangemi*).

Nonetheless, there is a clear difference between loan words attested from Arabic and loan words deriving from Romance sources. The category of loan words that have been borrowed by Arabic from Latin largely concern

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Table 7.1 Items of interchangeable administrative vocabulary attested in Latin, Greek and Arabic during the Norman period

<i>amiratus</i> (Lat.)	< <i>amīr</i> (Ar.)	> ἀμειρῶς	admiral <sup>36</sup>
<i>babia</i> (Lat.)	< <i>bāb</i> (Ar.)	> πέπ	gate <sup>37</sup>
<i>balata</i> (Lat.)	< <i>balāta</i> (Ar.)	> βάλᾶτα	slab <sup>38</sup>
<i>duana</i> (Lat.)	< <i>dīwān</i> (Ar.)	> δουάνα	chancery <sup>39</sup>
<i>favara</i> (Lat.)	< <i>fawwāra</i> (Ar.)	> φαβάρρα	spring <sup>40</sup>
<i>kinisia</i> (Lat.)	< <i>k.nisya</i> (Ar.)	> κινίσια	church <sup>41</sup>
<i>cudyet</i> (Lat.)	< <i>kudya</i> (Ar.)	> κούδιε	hillock <sup>42</sup>
<i>margium</i> (Lat.)	< <i>marġ</i> (Ar.)	> μάργιον	meadow <sup>43</sup>
<i>mudica</i> (Lat.)	< <i>mudīq</i> (Ar.)	> μουδικ	strid <sup>44</sup>
<i>gaytus</i> (Lat.)	< <i>qā'id</i> (Ar.)	> καίτος	leader <sup>45</sup>
<i>chandackerra</i> (Lat.)	< <i>kbandaq</i> (Ar.)	> χάνδακ	ditch <sup>46</sup>
<i>chirba</i> (Lat.)	< <i>khirba</i> (Ar.)	> χήρπη	ruin <sup>47</sup>
<i>al-ġ.m.n</i> (Ar.)	< ἡγουμένος (Gk)	= <i>ecumenus</i> (Lat.)	abbot <sup>48</sup>
<i>sardaġūs</i> (Ar.)	< στρατηγός (Gk)	> <i>stratigotus</i> (Lat.)	strategot <sup>49</sup>
<i>aršdiyāq.n</i> (Ar.)	< <i>archidiaconos</i> (Lat.)	= ἀρχιδιάκονος	archdeacon <sup>50</sup>
<i>arākinalarš.fsk</i> (Ar.)	< <i>archiepiscopi</i> (Lat.)	= ἀρχιεπίσκοποι	archbishop <sup>51</sup>
<i>al-bārūniyya</i> (Ar.)	< <i>baroni</i> (Lat.)	> βαρουννοι	barons <sup>52</sup>
<i>b.nāfīsīyūw</i> (Ar.)	< <i>beneficium</i> (Lat.)	> βενεφίκιον	beneficiary <sup>53</sup>
<i>ġ.nsalīr</i> (Ar.)	< <i>cancellarius</i> (Lat.)	> καντζηλλάριος	chancellor <sup>54</sup>
<i>ġ.bla</i> (Ar.)	< <i>cappella</i> (Lat.)	> καππέλλα	chapel <sup>55</sup>
<i>al-q.ṣṭ.lānī</i> (Ar.)	< <i>castellanus</i> (Lat.)	> καστελλάνος	castellan <sup>56</sup>
<i>al-asāq.fā</i> (Ar.)	< <i>episcopus</i> (Lat.)	= ἐπίσκοπος	bishop <sup>57</sup>
<i>afrār</i> (Ar.)	< <i>frère</i> (Lat.)	> φέρρη	friar <sup>58</sup>
<i>usb.tāl</i> (Ar.)	< <i>hospitale</i> (Lat.)	> ὀσπιτάλιον	hospital <sup>59</sup>
<i>n.ṭārī</i> (Ar.)	< <i>notarius</i> (Lat.)	> νοτάριος	scribe <sup>60</sup>
<i>al-abriyūr</i> (Ar.)	< <i>prior</i> (Lat.)	= προϊστωρ	prior <sup>61</sup>
<i>siġill</i> (Ar.)	= <i>sigillum</i> (Lat.)	= σιγίλλιον	diploma <sup>62</sup>
<i>sir, sīr</i> or <i>al-qīr</i> (Ar.)	< <i>sire</i> (Lat.)	= κύρ	sir <sup>63</sup>
<i>al-t.rāriyya</i> (Ar.)	< <i>terrarius</i> (Lat.)	= τερρέρης	feudatory <sup>64</sup>
<i>disqūmī</i> (Ar.)	< <i>vicecomes</i> (Lat.)	> βεισκώμης	viscount <sup>65</sup>

the Latin church, the bureaucracy or the land registry system. As such, they originated as the product of Christian administrative control and are unlikely to have existed in any form of Sicilian Arabic before the mid-eleventh century.<sup>66</sup> Some of these terms are closer phonetically to Old French than they are to Latin or Italo-Romance pronunciations, thereby suggesting a possible route of transmission into Arabic. By contrast, loan words from Arabic that are attested in Latin and Greek are terms that relate to either administration or physical geography and are likely to have been

coined and transmitted largely via transliteration in administrative documents. Support for this comes from the relatively remote nature of many of these *calques*.

### Some conclusions

With regard to the language of the administration, it may be shown that, via translations, Latin scribes adopted some of the administrative literary modes and language of their Arabic and Greek predecessors. However, it is difficult to establish which of these two languages exerted the most stylistic influence on the Latin or indeed, from where such literary administrative traits first evolved. The prominence of Arabic terms transliterated in the Greek but not vice versa suggests that the Arabic may have been the stylistic driving force of early and pre-Norman documents, although the noun duplication genre may be traceable to a Greek tradition. If this evidence could be further corroborated, then later Latin documents that assimilated these styles represent a genuine fusion, as opposed to a confluence of these traditions.

Even by the early part of the twelfth century, transliterated loan words show that scribes had already risen to the challenge of finding easily translatable and comprehensible items of vocabulary which were tailored to meet the increasing need for translations to and from Greek, Arabic and Latin. One of the key features of this vocabulary was a tendency to transliterate terms that related to physical geography and administration, reflecting the type of documents produced in the chancery. The tendency to resort to code-switching became something of a standard for bilingual twelfth-century scribes and continued into the later medieval period.

The conditioning factors that helped to determine whether a word was translated or transliterated and the mechanisms of word creation through the practice of transliteration are apparent in both Latin and Greek administrative documents throughout the Norman period. These seem to have been based on highly variable schemes. Nonetheless, the propensity to transliterate certain Arabic terms resulted partly in the development, unwitting or not, of an interchangeable vocabulary that could be understood at least by the scribes who created and used the terms. In some examples, most probably pre-existing 'Sicilian' terms in common usage were used and reflected by the administration. Many other examples have no attested life outside administrative documents and it is suggested that they were actually coined by bilingual scribes via transliteration into Latin. In some cases, terms may even have been transmitted only via the written word of the exclusive circles which coined them through copies and later transumps.

We have seen how the modes of expression such as noun duplication, neologisms created by transliteration from Arabic or interference from

Latin or Greek were commonly used and were well established in both royal and private charters. However, the textual and lexical unevenness in such documents combined with a literary genre that spanned all three administrative languages creates as many problems as it does solutions with regard to the relationship of Arabic speakers and the wider Sicilian language question. It would certainly be hasty to assume that the creators of the registers upon which much of our evidence for early examples of Sicilian toponymy and vocabulary is based were using language in the same way that the wider linguistic communities were. Caution must therefore be exercised when assigning vernacular status to ‘Sicilian-isms’ (particularly loan words in Latin taken from Arabic), since it is difficult to distinguish them from purely administrative terms created by code-switching. We might also note a tendency for Greek scribes to transliterate Arabic terms, whereas Latin scribes often showed the counter-tendency to translate. Without doubt, ever since the twelfth century this has contributed to difficulties in finding some localities which were never known by their Latin names except in some of the boundary registers themselves. We might also note that landlords in the later medieval period also tended to rely on Latin registers which often either contained peculiar transliterated forms of Arabic or translated items of Arabic that would have made identification of these places problematic.

It seems unlikely that trilingual vocabulary resulted from a centralized and coordinated language planning policy, other than having a royal administration that operated across three languages. Rather, whether a royal boundary register was written in Greek, Arabic or Latin seems to have been made on a more *ad hoc* basis and depended on the language of those giving the oral testimony, those collating that testimony and the varying demand for translations of these originals. The long, Latin translation for the church of S. Maria Nuova in 1182 marked a change in administrative policy by its use of Arabic-Latin in favour of Arabic-Greek. On a general level, if a turning point was required, then 1182 may be regarded as one in the decline of both Greek and Arabic as the languages of administration in Sicily, although the boundary register genre with its similar modes of expression continued into the later medieval period through the translation of registers.

Finally, although we cannot be certain who the scribes of the Monreale register were, it is likely that the royal notary Alexander was probably responsible for a large amount of the compilation and translation work into Latin from the Arabic *daftar*-s. On the other hand, the Arabic scribe Yūsuf was certainly a copyist but may also have collaborated with the translation. He is not mentioned in any other document of the twelfth century. Towards the end of the register, Alexander claims that *de saracenico in latinum transferri*. Therein lies an ambiguity which expresses a certain wider truth about its compilation because *transferri* can not only mean ‘transfer’ or

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‘copy’ but could also mean ‘translate’, which comes from the same verb. The very notion of ‘writing Arabic in Latin’ embodies the ambiguity of whether to translate or to transliterate. Indeed, the blend of both styles not only characterized the language of later Sicilian boundary registers, but also lent itself to the creation of many loan words of varying status via the process of code-switching and transliteration.

## ARABIC INTO GREEK: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE EVIDENCE

### A brief history of scholarship in Sicilian Arabic

The questions that arise from the study of Arabic in Sicily can broadly be divided into two. First, there are those issues which comment on the wider historical relationships between Sicilian Arabic and the island's other languages. These have been, and are, the main concern for this volume as they provide ways of dividing up Sicilian society into language groups which did not always correspond to the island's religious groups. Second, there are a number of issues which relate to the development of Arabic and its dialects more generally. However, those hoping that the Arabic of royal and private documents might easily further our knowledge of the development of Arabic vernacular forms are likely to face disappointment as there are no obvious examples of dialectal traces that have not already been found. Nor are there, for example, present tense markers such as /bi-/; nor, in spite of the occasional consonant with Mağribī pointing, any characteristically Mağribī verb forms in any Sicilian Arabic document, and only occasionally was the Arabic vocalized. As we shall see, many readings in Cusa's *I diplomi greci ed arabi* are inaccurate and, as such, are open to misinterpretation.<sup>1</sup> Besides this, there is the problem that 'Sicilian' Arabic, as found for example in the documents of the royal *dīwān*, may not have been written by scribes who were native to the island. Clearly, this threatens to undermine regionally-based comparisons between different strains of what is often called 'Middle Arabic'. For this reason, and the fact that this work is largely concerned with language and society as opposed to linguistics, it is not my intention here to comment in any detail on these aspects of Middle Arabic. Nonetheless, questions of typology or 'what type of Arabic was used in Sicily' belong to both fields and it is worth pausing to consider developments in the study of Sicilian Arabic before going on to lay foundations for future assessments when reliable editions of the documents in question might have become available, before finally examining the relationships between the Arabic and the transcription of it into Greek.



In the mid-nineteenth century, Michele Amari suspected that the type of Arabic spoken in Sicily was of a western or Mağribī type.<sup>2</sup> Since then, this conclusion has been widely supposed to be correct, but relatively little progress has been made to qualify it or narrow down the possibilities. Two obstacles stand in the way of such progress. First, and as mentioned, is the lack of a reliable set of texts from which to form a linguistic data base and there is no doubt that Cusa's *diplomi* has spoiled much, otherwise competent, research. Second, is that there is so little detailed, comparable evidence for other Arabic dialects in the immediate area from that period, bar strains of Andalusī Arabic. Indeed, it is particularly problematic to find corroborating evidence to link twelfth-century Sicilian vernaculars with any North African or Maltese dialects from the same period, given the paucity of reliable data from the latter regions.

In 1950, Francesco Gabrieli pointed to the similarities in style between Sicilian and Spanish poetry and repeated the claim that Sicilian Arabic was probably a Mağribī type as that spoken in Ifrīqiya.<sup>3</sup> Almost twenty years later, in a very brief communication, Joshua Blau dismissed a quirky article written the year before which had linked Sicilian and Egyptian Arabic, and restated (with the minimum of explanation) the 'conventional' wisdom that Sicilian Arabic was of a western type.<sup>4</sup> As a parallel development headed by the same author, fundamental studies in the Judaeo-Arabic of Sicily were established during the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, from the evidence of 'speech errors' by the Sicilian grammarian, Ibn Makkī (d. 1108) in his *Tatqīf al-Lisān* ('Correction of Speech'), Umberto Rizzitano also concluded that Mağribī dialects were spoken in Sicily.<sup>6</sup> However, the work of Ibn Makkī is, unfortunately, a linguistic minefield. Not only were his aims as a proscriptive grammarian unclear, but also his key distinction in pronunciation between the 'the general population' (*amma*) and 'the social elite' (*khāṣa*) is so vague as to be barely coherent now, if indeed, it ever was coherent. Besides which, it is not clear if what he was really interested in was the importance attached by Muslim grammarians to the correct pronunciation of the Qur'ān. If so, then Ibn Makkī was less likely to have been concerned with the observation of genuinely local variations in vernacular speech. Of course, he may have seen the two as related. More seriously, such are the inconsistencies in pronunciation that he cites, it is possible to ascribe any number of dialect traits to his evidence without knowing whether they are accurate or spurious.

Adalgisa De Simone's *Spoglio antroponomico delle giaride arabo-greco dei diplomati editi da Salvatore Cusa, Parte I*, published in 1979, deals with the main points of language raised by the registers of lands and men in a summarized form. Although she realised that by contrasting the Arabic and Greek versions phonetically, it might be possible to reveal aspects of a twelfth-century Sicilian Arabic dialect, the work stopped short of such a technically tricky analysis. Part two of the *Spoglio* has never appeared and

her more recent work has suggested a switch away from linguistic analyses to more historically-based accounts. Since this pilot study, the same bilingual fiscal registers have attracted an increasing amount of scholarly attention from a number of angles. In 1983, Girolamo Caracausi elicited the first recorded several hundred instances of Arabic words that were attested in Greek, Latin or Sicilian dialects during the medieval period.<sup>7</sup> That work followed in the wake of the seminal two-volume *Gli arabismi nelle lingue neolatine* by Giovan Battista Pellegrini, published eleven years earlier, which cited many hundreds of similar loan words (almost all originating in Sicily) and roughly divided them according to subject area.<sup>8</sup> Leaving aside the publication of historical works that have dealt with the language situation in passing, Alberto Várvaro's wide-ranging *Lingua e storia in Sicilia* from 1981 articulated the idea that Sicily had become a social and linguistic 'melting pot' during the Norman period, although he presciently felt that 'to speak of creolisation [in the subsequent periods] would be excessive'.<sup>9</sup>

Then, in the late 1980s and 1990s, a general theory came to the fore arguing that the spread of Arabic and the subsequent development of Arabic dialects had been due to the processes of pidginization and creolization.<sup>10</sup> For some time, similarities between Maltese and Sicilian Arabic have been noted by a string of scholars, among others Stanley Fiorini, Dionisius Agius, Godfrey Wettinger, Joseph Brincat, Joseph Aquilina and Geoffrey Hull. In 1996, these views were taken a step further. In the most ambitious linguistic work of its type to date, Dionisius Agius ingeniously argued that the hybrid forms found in some Sicilian documents were evidence of a pidginized form of communication on the island that blended elements of Arabic and Romance dialects. He then combined evidence from Sicilian and Maltese dialects with data from the *ġarā'id*, private documents and the work of Ibn Makkī to support widely-held suspicions that Maltese has a variety of Sicilian Arabic as one of its many substratas.<sup>11</sup> There is little doubt that some of the forms quoted were indeed hybridized in precisely the type of way that pidgin languages tend to be, but concerns remain about how widespread such a tongue might ever have been in Sicily, or indeed, how such a theory might be corroborated, given that the provenance of many of these pidginized forms suggested they were of a neologistic type coined in administrative documents by transliteration, and therefore not necessarily representative of the vernacular speech. In the previous two chapters, attempts have been made to separate out some of these 'phantom' vernacular elements via a study of the administration's activities, which will be further advanced in this chapter. Although Agius's 'Siculo-Arabic' indirectly shed light on the many pitfalls that lie hidden in this most deceptive of subjects, many Arabists were meanwhile beginning to have doubts about the credibility of the pidginization theory as the medium for the spread of Arabic

generally.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, studies based on *lahn al-‘amma* literature such as Ibn Makki’s have generally turned out to be disappointing and it is now accepted that ‘it would be wrong to assume that we can reconstruct the vernacular on the basis of this material’.<sup>13</sup>

This present work stops well short of a pidginization theory in Norman Sicily. However, I would be inclined to argue that socio-historical conditions were in place during the ninth to thirteenth centuries that would have been sufficient to have given rise to a long period of bilingualism of varying types. Indeed, we have already come across several well-attested examples of bilingualism in Sicily, and I would suggest that many of the hundreds of examples elicited by Pellegrini, Caracausi, De Simone, Agius, *et al.* could not have been produced by anything other than by this very phenomenon. As I have sought to argue, some of these forms were purely administrative, and in some sense, ‘artificial’. Others still, for example, those relating to material culture which have entered European languages more generally, were doubtless transmitted along commercial routes. These two categories are quite different from the many others loan words and interferences, particularly those that were attested at the time and which continued to survive into later Sicilian dialects, and which were not transmitted solely by small groups of scribes or merchants. It is not unreasonable to infer that these loan words and interferences resulted from a long period of Arabic-Greek, and later, to a lesser extent, Arabic-Romance bilingualism within certain communities around the island.

A number of serious caveats remain and promising, important and unique as the data offered by the documents of the day doubtless are for both linguists and historians, evidence for the language situation to support these ideas must be extracted and treated with the utmost caution. It is not always clear whether data can be successfully extracted and then even when it is, there remain problems of interpretation. Indeed, there is little doubt that, almost a thousand years after the local, and later central, administrative documentation from the Norman period was first produced, combined research efforts into the evidence and our understanding of it are barely out of their infancy. The following chapter represents another step along the way and its aim is to unravel some of the many knots that surround access to this subject by assessing the relationships between parallel Greek and Arabic renditions. In doing so, this may illuminate a wider historical conclusion by highlighting some of the ways in which those two languages may have affected one another. Given the problems that surround the published edition of these documents and the unsure relationship between the Greek and Arabic versions, recourse must also be made to the actual manuscript versions and how they came to be composed in the first place.

### The royal villein registers and the copying process

The royal *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma'mūr* was not only responsible for the issuing and upkeep of boundary registers, but also for producing lists of villeins who lived on the defined estates. In Arabic, these lists were known as the *ḡarā'id al-riḡāl*. As we have seen, the primary administrative purpose of these documents was to serve as a record of concessions made to landlords from the royal demesne.<sup>14</sup> Names of household heads were noted, sometimes according to religion, sometimes to location, and sometimes to both. The early registers were made in either Arabic and/or Greek, but during the 1140s, old registers were recalled and reissued in Arabic accompanied by a Greek transcription. In these confirmations, the treatment of the Arabic names in Greek appears to reflect an Arabic dialect that deviates from the phonology of Classical Arabic.

Prima facie, the orthography of different Greek transcriptions of Arabic names seems to be relatively consistent. This consistency is all the more remarkable, given that the manuscripts were produced over three to five generations of scribes from 1095–1183. Not only is the orthography comparable, but the Greek was usually copied from the Arabic. Nonetheless, our understanding and interpretation of this data depends largely on a number of assumptions made about the relationship between the languages. For example, the order of writing the Greek and the Arabic was not always the same. Exceptionally, in the S. Maria Maddalena of Corleone register of 1151, the Greek had been written *first* and the Arabic added afterwards in the limited space around it.<sup>15</sup> Quite how the Greek equates to the Arabic begs wider questions about how the scribes came to compose the registers. No treatise exists, and perhaps none was ever written, that outlined chancery practice in Sicily. Although similar works do exist elsewhere, the uniqueness of the royal Sicilian administration that issued bilingual villein registers in Arabic and Greek does not allow accurate analogies with other contemporary administrations such as that of Fatimid Egypt or with teams of translators in, say, Spain. Indeed, even small disparities in any analogy are sufficient to undermine precisely the matters of detail such a comparison might hope to establish.

Naturally, there is a sense in which all documents were the result of collaboration between scribes. There was, at least in theory, a line of communication which spanned from the king, through to the *datarii* of the upper strata of the administration, down to the scribes who actually put pen to parchment. Finally, documents were returned to be signed and sealed to show ratification and authorization. As far as the language question is concerned, it is the collaboration between the unnamed scribes who were involved in the writing stages of production that is of relevance, since it was they who executed the translation and transliterations from one language to another. The difficulty of the task surrounding the composition and copying

of *dīwānī* registers is no better shown than by the series of registers relating to villeins from the areas of Cefalù and Collesano, some of which we have already looked at from a socio-historical perspective in chapter four.

### The Latin, Arabic and Greek versions of the Collesano, Rocella and Cefalù registers

In 1136, the monks of the church of Cefalù brought to Palermo a register which was written in Latin.<sup>16</sup> This contained the names of men from Collesano and Rocella who were the property of the churches of S. Giovanni and S. Cosimano and who had been donated by Abbot David of SS. Trinità at Mileto to the church of S. Salvatore's in Cefalù in January 1136. This register is of exceptional interest because there is also a royal Arabic-Greek copy of the same list which was made for the church of Cefalù in 1145.<sup>17</sup> The majority of the names on the list are of Arabic origin, although some are Greek. The two Latin lists were combined and transliterated into a single Arabic-Greek list. This was then appended to the register of villeins in the Cefalù area that had been presented to the *Dīwān al-Ma'mūr* in Palermo to be confirmed and reissued in January 1145. A comparison of all three languages graphically demonstrates the relationships between them (see Table 8.1).

Some of the names on the list were not fully completed in the later copy (i.e. numbers 17, 20, 22–25, 28, 30, 32 and 36). Given that some of these names must have been comparatively simple for a Greek scribe to derive but were not attempted suggests that the Greek scribe transliterated the names directly from the Arabic without recourse to the Latin. Had the Greek scribe consulted the Latin directly, he might have recognized, for example, that *Grisopoli* (no.25) was the Greek name *χρυσοπούλλη*.<sup>18</sup> That the Greek scribe copied his version only from the Arabic is further supported by the fact that the Greek gives slightly fewer details about the names than the Arabic and Latin versions do (cf. nos. 22, 23, 25, 28, 30 and 32). The copying processes were thus: Latin (by 1136) > Arabic (in 1145, by transliteration from the Latin) > Greek (in 1145, by transliteration from the Arabic). During these transfers from Latin to Greek via Arabic, information concerning ten villeins (almost a third of the total) was lost in translation. As if to acknowledge that the Arabic version was somehow imperfect, the Arabic scribe had left sufficient space for the full name and surname to be written in the Cefalù register but reproduced only those parts of the name he could fathom out from the Latin. This also shows that the *Dīwān al-Ma'mūr* mentioned in the rubric of the 1145 Cefalù register could not have had their own copy of this particular document, but were relying entirely on the Latin register brought by the monks. It also shows that, at least in this case, they were prepared to confirm a list they had not apparently seen before.

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Table 8.1 From Latin to Arabic to Greek: the Collesano and Rocella villein registers

	<i>Collesano 1136 Latin</i>	<i>Cefalù 1145 Arabic</i>	<i>Cefalù 1145 Greek</i>
1	Nicholaus de lo Mocheti <sup>19</sup>	<i>Niqūla Numuṭātī</i>	Νικόλ[αος] νομοθέτης
2	Ioseph filius Ianuarii	<i>Yūsuf bin Yanār</i>	ιωσήφ υἱὸς γεννάρ
3	Nicholaus filius Leontis	<i>Niqāla bin Lāw</i>	Νικόλ[αος] υἱὸς λέο
4	Philippus filius Buseit	<i>Filib bin Bū l-Sayyid</i>	φίλιππ[ος] υἱὸς σουσσίτ
5	Philippus filius Calochuri	<i>Filib bin Qaluṣūrī</i>	φίλιππος υἱὸς καλοκίρου
6	Abdelcherin filius Yse	<i>‘Abd al-Karīm bin ‘Īsā</i>	ἀνδελκερήμ ἐπ’ ἴσε
7	Hamor filius Abdelcherin	<i>‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-Karīm</i>	ἡμορ ἐπ’ ἀνδελκερήμ
8	Sidi filius eiusdem Abdelcherin	<i>Sayyid-hum bin ‘Abd al-Karīm</i>	σῆδουχομ ἐπ’ ἀνδελκερήμ
9	Mehib filius Abdelcherin	<i>Muhīb bin ‘Abd al-Karīm</i>	μουχίπ ἐπ’ ἀνδελκερήμ
10	Machalub filius Abdelcherin	<i>Makhlūf bin ‘Abd al-Karīm</i>	μαχλούφ ἐπ’ ἀνδελκερήμ
11	Samuehl filius Yse frater Abdelcherin	<i>Šamawāl bin ‘Īsā akhū ‘Abd al-Karīm</i>	σεμουέλ ἐπ’ ἴσε ἀδελφὸς ἀνδελκερήμ
12	Moyses filius Ali	<i>Mūsā bin ‘Alī</i>	μούσες ἀδελφὸς (sic) ἄλη
13	Hasen filius Moysi	<i>Ḥasan bin Mūsā</i>	χάσεν ἐπ’ μούσε
14	Hali filius Moysi	<i>‘Alī bin Mūsā</i>	ἄλη ἐπ’ μούσε
15	Hasen filius Hamut et frater suus	<i>Ḥasan bin Ḥammūd wa-akhū-hu</i>	χάσεν ἐπ’ χαμμούτ και ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ
16	Hali strambus filius Ioseph	<i>‘Alī al-Iṣṭranbū bin Yūsuf</i>	ἄλη στράμβου υἱὸς ιωσήφ
17	Hali Loiel	<i>‘Alī</i>	ἄλη
18	Abdella stultus	<i>‘Abdallāh al-Maḡnūn</i>	ἀδελλα ἐλμετζούν
19	Bucher filius Rhoobel(?)	<i>Abū Bakr bin Bū ‘Abdallāh</i>	ουήγκερ ἐπ’ βουαυδέλλα
	<i>Rocella 1136 Latin</i>		
20	Teodorus filius Gafuri	<i>Ṭawdur</i>	θε[ο]δωρος]
21	Basilius filius Leontis	<i>Bāsīlī bin Lāw</i>	βασίλιος υἱὸς λέοντος
22	Basilius filius Babe	<i>Bāsīlī bin</i>	βασίλιος
23	Iafar filius Capre	<i>Ġa‘far bin</i>	τζάφαρ
24	Robertus filius Guarini	<i>R.b.rt</i>	ρόμβερτ
25	Ali filius Grisopoli	<i>‘Alī bin</i>	ἄλη
26	Moyses frater eius	<i>Mūsā akhū-hu</i>	Μούσες ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ
27	Abdesseit filius eius	<i>‘Abd al-Sayyid</i>	ἀνδεσσείτ
28	Othoman filius Busen	<i>‘Uṭmān bin</i>	ὀθμάν
29	Bucher frater eius	<i>Abū Bakr akhū-hu</i>	ουήγκερ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ
30	Hamor frater eius	<i>‘Umar akhū-humā</i>	ἡμορ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῶν
31	Zaydon filius Casey	<i>Zaydūn bin Qāsīm</i>	ζεῖδούν ἐπ’ κάσημ
32	Hasen filius Boson	<i>Ḥasan bin</i>	χάσεν
33	Hamuth frater eius	<i>Ḥammūd akhū-hu</i>	χαμμούτ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ
34	Abdelchamith	<i>‘Abd al-Ḥamīd</i>	ἀνδελχαμήτ
35	Muchuluf	<i>Makhlūf</i>	μαχλούφ
36	Hamor et fratres eius filii Marturine	<i>‘Umar wa-ikhwatu-hu</i>	ἡμορ και οι ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ

Not all the registers have such colourful histories or were compiled in this way. The bilingual Arabic-Greek *ġarīda* from 1178 that records villeins who were conceded to the church of Monreale is exceptional in that it contains a number of lacunae in the text where the Greek has been left unwritten. This would seem to confound a theory of close collaboration between scribes since two scribes working on the same document would have been more likely to notice such gaps or have been able to consult over the text. Some of these omissions are surprising. At one point in the manuscript, an entire line of five names is missing.<sup>20</sup> However, these names occur beneath the final line of an Arabic introduction and, at a quick glance, they may have appeared to belong to it. This oversight might have been more likely to have happened in the case of a Greek scribe who could not read the Arabic script so well. Alternatively, he was just careless.

A tantalizing trade-off between the two languages occurs with apparent amendment in the Greek of a mistake made in the Arabic.<sup>21</sup> The Arabic reads *Bū l-Khayr al-Habbāt* for the much more probable form of *Bū l-Khayr al-Hattāb*.<sup>22</sup> Now, the Greek reads *βουλγακήρελχατάπ*, so, in spite of the correctness of the Greek, the error in the Arabic went uncorrected. It is impossible to know in this case whether this was a genuine correction, or whether the Greek scribe, perhaps copying from a draft, never noticed the errant Arabic of the finalized manuscript. When we consider that the Greek scribe had missed far more obvious errors in his own work, it seems less plausible that he had identified and corrected the mistake in the Arabic on his own, but this is pure speculation. Either way, the Arabic went unaltered and the relationship between the two languages remains ambiguous. Also found in the Monreale 1178 register is the rubric above a short list of nine villeins stating that these are the *raḥāl Ruġīr* (رجال رجير) meaning ‘the villages of Roger’. It is likely that this is a manuscript error for *riġāl Ruġīr* (رجال رجير) meaning ‘the villeins of Roger’.<sup>23</sup> The ‘villeins of Roger’ make perfect sense in the context of a villein register whereas ‘the villages of Roger’ are completely unknown. This type of mistake may well be explained in terms of the careless copying that characterizes this register, as opposed to the inability of the Greek scribe to read the Arabic.

The second Arabic-Greek register that confirmed names of villeins to Monreale made a few years later in 1183 contains a number of errors and corrections, although no lacunae. A couple of names given first have been struck through with a line and then substituted with a corrected version in the same hand. One such error sheds light on the compilation process. In the manuscript, *ἀλλης ἐπιν ἄτσημη* has been written for *ὁ χάτζ ἀλλης τοῦ χωριοῦ οὔτα*, where the former has been erroneously copied from the line *below*.<sup>24</sup> It is possible that the Greek scribe’s eye jumped to a different place in the manuscript during a concentration lapse. Alternatively, this error suggests that the Greek might have been mis-copied from a draft version and could not have been copied from the manuscript, since the scribe was working

down the page and thus could not yet have reached the line below from which to make his error.

The identification of more than one method of composition for the bilingual Sicilian registers, in part depending on the records and resources available to scribes, alters the way in which we might want to view the relationship between the languages in different registers. The effect of this inconsistency is that it might not always be possible to understand different registers as offering the same evidence linguistically. In the following sections, we shall see how these variations manifest themselves in differences in transliteration and transcription styles and also why this creates difficulties in making generalized judgements on the language employed in the villein registers. We shall also see that, while the style of transcription and orthography within manuscripts is sufficiently consistent for a limited linguistic survey, a number of qualifications needs to be made before this can be undertaken.

Problems for both historians and linguists are compounded by the ways in which the text from the manuscripts differs from that in the edition produced by Salvatore Cusa, which remains the main published source for Arabic documents from this period.<sup>25</sup> Divergences between Cusa and the manuscript material have regularly produced problems for researchers, and dependence on his work has often lead to unwittingly inaccurate results. Linguistically, the situation is worse than the occasional error, although Cusa does mention in the preface to the *Diplomi* that he has made some arbitrary adjustments to the original text. However, there are over 1,300 variations between Cusa's edition and the actual manuscripts, not including differences in formatting changes or accentuation, which would account for at least another couple of thousand adjustments. Cusa's edition contains three main error types, namely misreadings, typographical mistakes and hypercorrections. When subdivided, we find deletions, substitutions, inversions, typographical mistakes, realignments of the text, the free-style restoration of some abbreviations as well as the classicization of the Greek accent system and orthography of some medieval Greek alternatives. Appendix B to the present work gives an idea of how serious some of these are.

### The question of orthographic consistency

The bilingual (Arabic-Greek) villein registers provide a rich and rare source for social, religious and onomastic studies and offer the best hope of reconstructing elements of some form of local dialect. The detail, quality and quantity of evidence offered is quite unlike that from contemporary Latin-Arabic sources, where Latin scribes often appeared to be struggling to cope with the Arabic or showed a stronger inclination to Latinize Arabic terms as part of a translation 'scheme'.



As for the bilingual registers of villeins, many Arabic names were written in Greek in a way that was not graphemically equivalent to the Arabic. In layman's terms, that is to say, the letters used in the Greek did not always match the sound we might have expected the Arabic letter to have represented. Naturally, the Greek alphabet does not have the means to distinguish precisely, the entire phonemic inventory of Arabic. For example, the standard pronunciations of ʾ, ʿ, ġ, ģ, ḥ, ḫ, kh, š, ś, ḍ, ṭ, q, z in Arabic find no exact match in Greek, and so it was quite common to find the Greek scribes using a 'best fit' equivalent when writing Arabic in Greek. Indeed, evidence from thousands of papyri collected from late Byzantine and early Islamic periods from the archives of Nessana, Aphrodito and Egypt broadly exhibit similar traits. However, some letters of the Arabic were not transcribed into the corresponding Greek letter, even though the Greek alphabet contained such letters, and which one might have expected to be phonemic equivalents. Thus, it would appear that the difference between these two renditions reveals the remaining trace of a twelfth-century Sicilian dialect. But unlike the papyri collections, the bilingual Sicilian documents offer a much more integrated corpus of linguistic evidence. Nonetheless, the relationships between the Greek and Arabic versions raise some awkward questions. Perhaps the key issue is how should any such 'dialect' traces be understood? Did they reflect the speech of Sicilian Arabic speakers or that of Greek-Arabic speakers or did they merely reflect the speech of a small and perhaps untypical community of chancery scribes? Moreover, how does this evidence contribute to our sparse knowledge of the wider social, administrative and linguistic situations in twelfth-century Sicily? The following sections examine whether a set of orthographic principles can be discerned that may have conditioned or determined how Arabic names came to be written in Greek. By addressing the fundamental relationships that hold between the two scripts, a more stable base from which to launch research into the detailed phonology of Sicilian Arabic can be prepared for the future. It should also be added that the aim here is not to tease out correspondences between the Greek and Arabic from which phonetic values might be inferred since this derivative field can only be researched reliably after a proper assessment of the data has been made.

### Greek inflections in Sicilian Arabic

A notable feature of villein registers is the way in which Greek inflectional suffixes (-ς, ις or -ης) were appended to the transcription of some Arabic names. It was common for Greek scribes to Hellenicize Arabic items of vocabulary and this could also extend to the adaptation of an Arabic loan word to fit a Greek pattern (e.g. ὁ κάρτος < *al-qā'id*); the substitution of the Arabic definite article (*al-*) with the Greek article (ὁ), or the wholesale translation of an Arabic term into Greek. The practice of adding Greek

inflections was applied to first names, patronyms, ‘surnames’ and ‘nicknames’ (*ism*, *kunya* and *laqab*), but was more prevalent in toponymic surnames and certain first names. The addition of Greek inflections to toponymic names can be understood quite simply in terms of producing a Hellenicized equivalent. For example, ὁ πούνης < *al-Būnī*;<sup>26</sup> ὁ φέσης < *al-Fāsī*;<sup>27</sup> ὁ γαύσισης < *al-Ġawdisī*;<sup>28</sup> or πανορμ[ου] < *al-Madīnī*.<sup>29</sup>

Of the twenty most popular names from the Sicilian villein registers, almost all are attested at least once in Greek with a Greek inflection and some of them are commonly attested as such. Only a handful of names from this list are not attested with Greek inflections in bilingual registers, namely ‘*Abd al-Rahmān*, *Aḥmad*, *Hasan*, *Yūsuf* and *Sulaymān*. Other names that fall outside the top twenty, but are attested with inflectional suffixes include, *Abū l-Šūfa*,<sup>30</sup> *Ḥamza*,<sup>31</sup> *Riḍwān*<sup>32</sup> and *Šadaqa*.<sup>33</sup> It should be noted that these latter examples are somewhat exceptional. But some Arabic first names were much more liable to take Greek inflectional suffixes than others and cannot be explained in quite the same way as Hellenicizing interferences found in toponyms. A few examples listed below typify the ways in which they appeared in twelfth-century Sicilian Greek: ‘*Abdallāh* > ἄβδῆλλας (Cusa 251a); ‘*Īsā* > ἴσες (474a); *Mūsā* > μουσες (157b); *Ni‘ma* > νίμες (276a); ‘*Alī* > ἄλις (178a); *Ḥamza* > χάμζεες (252b); *Yahyā* > ἴχιες (273a).

A possible explanation for interference in such names might be that the above examples in Arabic terminate in either /-a/, /-ā/, or /-ī/ which sounded feminine to a Greek ear, even though all the examples are of Arabic men’s names.<sup>34</sup> In this respect, it is probably not coincidental that the overwhelming majority of names that were fitted with inflections had a termination in Arabic which would have appeared feminine when written in Greek letters. Conversely, the common names cited above which are not attested with inflections, tended to terminate with a consonant (e.g. ‘*Abd al-Rahmān*). However, the tendency to inflect Arabic names was not one shared equally by all Greek scribes, as shown in Tables 8.2–8.5.

Table 8.2 ‘*Alī* >

ἄλι ἄλη	ἄλις ἄλης ἄλ’ς	ḡarīda	totals	% inflected
58	0	Catania 1145	58	0 %
23	0	Aci 1145	23	0 %
16	3	Cefalù 1145	19	16 %
29	47	Monreale 1178	76	62 %
0	48	Monreale 1183	48	100 %
6	7	Others	13	54 %
132	102		237	

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Table 8.3 *Mūsā* >

μοῦσ' μοῦσα μοῦσε	μοῦσησ μοῦσεσ	<i>ḡarīda</i>	<i>totals</i>	<i>% inflected</i>
11	0	Catania 1145	11	0 %
3	0	Aci 1145	3	0 %
3	3	Cefalù 1145	6	50 %
12	1	Monreale 1178	13	8 %
6	6	Monreale 1183	12	50 %
1	0	Others	1	0 %
36	10		46	

Table 8.4 *ʿĪsā* >

ἴσε	ἴσεσ	<i>ḡarīda</i>	<i>totals</i>	<i>% inflected</i>
6	0	Catania 1145	6	0 %
2	0	Aci 1145	2	0 %
9	3	Cefalù 1145	12	8 %
6	0	Monreale 1178	6	0 %
3	11	Monreale 1183	14	79 %
3	1	Others	4	25 %
29	15		44	

Table 8.5 *ʿUmar* >

οὔμαρ οὔμο' ἄμουρ οὔμουρ	οὔμουρ'ς οὔμουρησ οὔμουρησ οὔμουρ'ς	<i>ḡarīda</i>	<i>totals</i>	<i>% inflected</i>
38	0	Catania 1145	38	0 %
19	0	Aci 1145	19	0 %
14	0	Cefalù 1145	14	0 %
50	5	Monreale 1178	55	9 %
11	11	Monreale 1183	22	50 %
7	0	Others	7	0 %
139	16		155	

Several points of significance emerge from this data. There is, for example, no change to the style of transliteration over time and it would seem that this type of transcription was already established by the mid-1090s and so probably formed part of an ongoing tradition. Thus, ἴσεσ (for Arabic *ʿĪsā*) occurs as such in the Palermo list dated 1095,<sup>35</sup> the Cefalù list

of 1145<sup>36</sup> and also in the same form in the Monreale of register 1183.<sup>37</sup> So, in spite of changes to chancery personnel, document format and sweeping administrative reforms, there was no significant change in the way Arabic names were Hellenicized by Greek scribes during the Norman period. In addition, Greek inflectional interferences in Arabic names are well-attested in privately-issued registers in both Sicily and Calabria. Given the widespread and long-established nature of this written practice, it may also have been that such interferences reflected a manner of speaking among at least some bilingual Greeks, although we might also note that most Arabic names did not take an inflectional ending when transcribed into Greek.

Not every inflectional interference was in the form of a single letter suffix to a final vowel. In some rare examples, we see the addition of *epsilon/leta* and *sigma* (-εσ or -ης) to a consonant termination as well as an infix of an extra vowel or diphthong. For instance: *ʿUṭmān* > οὐθμένης<sup>38</sup> and *ʿUṭmān* > ὀθούμενης.<sup>39</sup> The case of Greek infixes in Arabic names is unusual but significant because it also disrupted the stress pattern of the original to a form that probably appeared almost unrecognizable to a native Arabic speaker. From *ʿUṭmān* > ὀθούμενης involves a radical restructuring of the Arabic syllables with a shift from cvccv:ʿc > vcv:ʿcvcv (where v = vowel, and c = consonant). The Greek adds an extra syllable in both the medial and final positions and shifts the oxytonic stress of the Arabic to proparoxytonic in the Greek. It is difficult to account for this, especially as consonant clusters of *theta-mu* exist in Greek e.g. *rythmós*. Its rare and somewhat quirky form suggests that it is a *hapax legomenon* or one-off occurrence. It does, however, show the extent to which scribes were prepared to alter the structure of Arabic names and therefore how potentially misleading this type of data can be from the perspective of inferring the pronunciation of Arabic via the medium of Greek.

### Devoicing from Arabic to Greek and Latin

As we have noted, some Arabic names were written in Greek in a way that was not always graphemically equivalent to the Arabic. That is to say, some letters of the Arabic were not transcribed into the corresponding Greek letter, even though the Greek alphabet contained such letters. For example, we find *bāʾ* > *pi* or *pi-beta* instead of *beta* and *dāl* > *tau* or *tau-delta* instead of *delta*. This is probably explained by the likely value of a Sicilian Greek *beta* as /v/ and a *delta* as /ð/ compared to their received 'classical' values of /b/ and /d/. This also suggests that the Greek scribes were Hellenicizing their pronunciation of the Arabic, thereby casting doubt on the extent to which their transcription accurately reflects the vernacular Arabic of Sicilian Arabic speakers, rather than the Arabic of Greek-Arabic bilinguals.

Fascinating and exceptionally rare corroborating evidence for the changes Arabic undergoes when in the mouths of Greek speakers comes

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from modern Cyprus, where a dialect of Arabic, brought across by Maronites from the ninth to the twelfth century, is still spoken in the north-western village of Kormakiti.<sup>40</sup> The Arabic of this dialect includes many interferences from Cypriot Greek grammar and pronunciation, including characteristically Greek tendencies of voicing and devoicing in certain phonetic environments. An example of the heady mix of Greek and Arabic can be seen below with devoicing of /b/ to /p/ (*al-bint* > *p-pint*; *bayt* > *payt*); a part-Arabic, part-Greek condition and result clause (*an ... tóte*); and the use of a loan word directly from Greek (*prika* < *πρoίκα* ‘dowry’): *lan p-pint u l-éxl piriúx, tóte š-šípp kyítlop prika mix páyt xkáli u flús/* ‘If the daughter and the family want him, then the lad requests a dowry, such as a house, land and money’.<sup>41</sup> In the Sicilian villein registers, bilabial and alveolar plosives in the Arabic were sometimes written as a combination of *pi-beta* or *tau-delta* as correspondents of the Arabic *bā*<sup>2</sup> and *dāl*, perhaps as an attempt to compensate for the lack of direct phonetic equivalents between the two languages. Nonetheless, devoicing, or use of a combination that involved a devoiced consonant in the Greek, was more likely to occur in certain environments than others as shown in Tables 8.6–8.8.

Table 8.6 The Arabic letter *dāl* as a Greek *delta*

<i>dāl</i> > δ	Monreale 1178	Monreale 1183	Catania	Aci	Cefalù	Other
initial	19/19	21/23	1/2	4/4	1/3	0/0
medial	323/343	175/200	152/196	37/48	43/50	39/43
final	62/206	4/83	2/165	0/35	2/39	4/21

Table 8.7 The Arabic letter *dāl* as a Greek *tau*

<i>dāl</i> > τ	Monreale 1178	Monreale 1183	Catania	Aci	Cefalù	Other
initial	0/19	2/23	1/2	0/4	2/3	0/0
medial	20/343	25/200	35/196	11/48	7/50	4/43
final	144/206	79/83	132/165	28/35	36/39	17/21

Table 8.8 The Arabic letter *dāl* as a combination of *tau-delta* in Greek

<i>dāl</i> > τδ	Monreale 1178	Monreale 1183	Catania	Aci	Cefalù	Other
initial	0/19	0/23	0/2	0/4	0/3	0/0
medial	0/343	0/200	7/196	0/48	0/50	0/43
final	0/206	0/83	31/165	7/35	1/39	0/21

It is evident from this that different scribes favoured different renditions of the Arabic letter *dāl*. Nonetheless, there is a significantly stronger overall tendency for *dāl*-s to be written as *tau* in the Greek in word-final positions. Overall figures and percentage showing tendency of *dāl* > *tau* or *tau*-delta:

Initial	5/51=	10 per cent
Medial	109/880=	12 per cent
Final	475/549=	87 per cent

We might also note that the devoicing of bilabial plosives *bā'* > *pi* or *pi+beta* occurs in similar configuration of positions.

The issue of devoicing touches on a point of wider significance. Perhaps the greatest unresolved question of the Islamic period is the extent to which Sicily's indigenous population was assimilated into the immigrant communities of Arabic speakers, for which linguistic forms can provide a precious insight. For example, it is possible that some Sicilian-Arabic speakers may have devoiced in the same way as Greek or Romance speakers due to the influence of these dialects on their own tongue. Supporting evidence for this in Arabic documents is extremely rare. However, it is possible that the rare Arabic plural form *qāwāyit* (instead of *quwwād* or \**qāwā'id*, from the singular *qā'id*) that occurs in a chancery document from 1242 reflected this unusual Arabic accent of the day.<sup>42</sup> This, however, is found in an idiosyncratic Arabic version of a Latin document where *qāwāyit* is the translation of the Latin *questores* and is one of several unusual forms. As such, it remains an isolated example among Arabic documents whose otherwise conventional orthography gives few clues to local pronunciation and the example establishes little more than an intriguing case. However, mention might also be made of the general devoicing from /d/ to /t/ in many modern Sicilian dialect words of Arabic origin such as *cājitu* from the Arabic *qā'id* meaning 'a leader' but which was also used honorifically in Sicily. This is commonly attested in various forms (*κάϊτ*, *κάϊτος*, *κάϊτας*, *κάϊτης*, *κάϊτες*, *κέτος*, *gaitus*, *gaytus* and *caytus*) throughout the twelfth century and further detailed work in this direction may provide more illuminating evidence.<sup>43</sup> However, it should also be noted that changes to voicing are characteristic of several southern Italian dialects today.

On the other hand, Arabic is considerably more resistant to this type of devoicing, and the examples of Cypriot and the Arabic of Sicilian Greeks suggest that Greek or Italo-Greek phonetic influence was the likely cause. Perhaps of relevance is that the only dialect of Arabic to devoice in a similar way is Maltese where final position /b/ and /d/ become /p/ and /t/ if followed by another voiced consonant e.g. (Maltese) *trit* < *turīd* (Classical Arabic) and (Maltese) *biep* < *bāb* (Classical Arabic). The latter example is nowhere near sufficient to establish causality between Greek/Arabic from Sicily and Maltese, but nonetheless it does record an unusual and parallel

phonological change. Incidentally, the discovery of any Greek in otherwise Arabic elements of medieval Maltese would substantially strengthen the idea that Maltese has Sicilian Arabic as one of its many substratas, as opposed to originating from the spoken Arabic of North Africa, which, but for Egypt, has been largely spared such influence from Greek.

### The treatment of Arabic names in Greek

Besides Greek influences and interferences in the registers, there are a number of professional names that were translated from the Arabic to the Greek. As can be seen from the table there in appendix C, translated terms were by no means evenly spread across the registers and show a lack of uniformity in the approach to preparing a Greek version of the Arabic. A statistical summary of the tables are shown in Table 8.9.

The examples cited show the minor tendency (a little over 2 per cent) for scribes to translate some items from Arabic into Greek. A relatively large body of terms, such as family relations (e.g. *ibn*, *walad*, *bint*, *zawġa* or *rabiḥ*), names with Greek inflections (e.g. *ὁ ἀβδέλλας*, *ὁ μούσεος*) or Hellenicized transliterations (e.g. *al-barādi'i* > *βαρδάρης*, Cusa 279a) have not been included in this list for the reason that they occur commonly and the tendencies they exhibit are much the same as less frequently translated items (see discussion below). Almost all the translated terms given refer to professional names such as ‘the tailor’ or ‘the smith’ and so on. However, it is not clear whether these appellations served as surnames in the modern sense or whether these men actually did the tasks that their names suggest.<sup>44</sup>

The minor tendency to translate is nonetheless important for a number of reasons. First, the presence of translated items in all the longer registers supports the idea that there was a certain level of bilingualism among the Greek scribes. However, the decision to translate in preference to transliterating was one which is considerably more pronounced in some lists than others. For example, there is a clear distinction between the lists of Monreale and those from Aci or Catania, such that a name from the Monreale 1183 was, on average, twelve times more likely to have been translated than the same name from Catania. In all cases, the Greek was added by scribes from the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma'mūr* in Palermo, so these variations cannot be said to reflect regional variations across Sicily, rather

Table 8.9 Occurrences of translated elements within villein names (excluding family terms)

<i>Monreale</i> 1178	<i>Monreale</i> 1183	<i>Catania</i> 1145	<i>Aci</i> 1145	<i>Cefalù</i> 1145	<i>Others</i> 1095–1169
31/1194 = 2.5%	31/729 = 4%	3/675 = 0.4%	2/266 = 0.75%	5/225 = 2%	2/171 = 1.2%

they are the result of choices made by particular, and anonymous, scribes. However, these stylistic variations do allow us to assess the scribes' consistency of treatment and approach to writing Arabic names in Greek which also allows us to divide up the lists on a linguistic basis. We will see how scribes who tended to translate Arabic words and names into Greek, also tended to Hellenicize terms and drop the definite article as well as append Greek inflectional endings to Arabic names. Naturally, these significant differences in treatment across the villein registers do not permit us to assess them as being linguistically equivalent. Although translated forms have been noted before, giving alternative forms within each *ḡarīda* allows us to observe how consistent particular scribes were.<sup>45</sup> This is essential to any linguistic inquiry since it is important to know whether we are observing a one-off translation or a wider trend. We will also see how recent research has overlooked this very point, producing demonstrably errant conclusions.

It is clear from the table of translated and transliterated terms in appendix C that no scribe was completely consistent over his treatment of names. Some terms (e.g. *al-šaykh*) vacillate capriciously between translation and transliteration. Other names (e.g. *al-Bannā*(?), *al-Ḥaddād*, *al-Ḥammār*, *al-Rāhib* or *al-Turuš*) are initially translated in some lists, but later reappear transliterated or vice versa. The scribes would seem not to have adopted any particular translation scheme and have thus produced unpredictable results. This inconsistency within the registers raises the point that the Greek may have been the product of more than one hand. In response to this, we might note that inconsistencies often occur within a very short space of text and, in some cases, in almost consecutive names (e.g. ἄνθρωπος followed by δουλευτής both for *rāḡil*, cf. Cusa 266b). We might combine this with the observation that variations of orthography, which occurred in the Greek itself, were standard practice and within the convention of twelfth-century Sicilian scribes. It is therefore difficult to argue that such variations in detail or execution within a register entail the work of more than one translator. Rather, the tendencies towards sporadic translation, or its counter-tendency of almost always transliterating, are upheld consistently throughout each list. The erratic and unpredictable approach to translation may thus be described as being within accepted chancery norms for this type of document.

The most strikingly different approaches to the task of writing Arabic names in Greek are shown in two of the longest villein registers, namely Monreale 1183 and Catania 1145. The latter register was reissued in 1145 and was a confirmation of a previous list written in Arabic in 1095. On the other hand, the bilingual (Arabic-Greek) register from Monreale was compiled, probably *ab initio*, around 1182 to record the villeins attached to lands recently conceded from the royal demesne to the church of Santa Maria Nuova di Monreale. From a stylistic perspective, the basic contrast



between the two is that the scribe of the Catania document chose to transliterate throughout the entire document, whereas the Monreale scribe translated over thirty items of Arabic into Greek. The transliterative tendency of the Catania scribe even extends to family terms (*umm* > οὔμ; *bint* > πεντ; *banāt* > πενέτ; *zawǧat* > ζατζητ<sup>46</sup>) as well as even short descriptive Arabic phrases (*al-ʿaǧūz bi-dār l-khayyāt* > ἐλαγζοῦς πετάρ ἐλχαιιάτ 582b). Absurd as this Greek transliteration may strike us, we have seen how it was matched by the equally absurd counter-tendency of Latin scribes to translate even quite inappropriate terms. On rare occasions, the Catania scribe showed a certain willingness to translate and a couple of Arabic terms appear in Greek. Thus, *bint* > θυγάτηρ 579a). However, given that bilingualism was probably the minimum requirement for a *dīwānī* scribe, his general reluctance to translate in this case should not be seen as an inability to do so, rather than a conscious choice not to. Clearly, this style did not always render the meaning of the Arabic for the benefit of Greek speakers. In that sense, it would have been of greater administrative expediency to have translated, and not transliterated, *al-ʿaǧūz bi-dār l-khayyāt* as ‘the old woman at the house of the tailor’. And old as she was said to have been in 1095, she was fifty years older when the register was confirmed verbatim in 1145. By contrast, the compiler of the Monreale 1183 manuscript was slightly more eager to translate, albeit in a haphazard fashion. As with translations in other registers, he did not follow a particular plan, but translated some quite obscure terms such as *al-muʿwaǧǧ* > τραχλώς (‘the hunchback’) and *al-ṭuruš* > ὁ κοφός (‘the deaf man’). Even if the scribe did not translate these on his own but received help, it shows that, at the very least, there were some scribes in the *dīwān* whose Arabic-Greek vocabulary extended far enough to cover the remote language of disabilities. Alternatively, the Greek scribe of the Monreale document was taking the occasional opportunity to display his breadth of knowledge of Arabic. Whichever was the case, we might cautiously infer that there was little in the way of Greek and Arabic that could not be accurately translated in the *dīwān*. The villein registers from Monreale 1178 and Cefalù 1145 show a similar ratio of translated words (2.5 per cent and 2 per cent respectively). These represent about half the proportion of the Monreale 1182 document but at least six times that of Catania. The Cefalù scribe is also noteworthy for his translation of family terms (*bint* > θυγάτηρ on all ten occasions), but in both documents, translations occur at unpredictable intervals and without any apparent reference to other renditions which were made before or since. The *ǧarāʿid al-riǧāl* from Aci 1145 contains only two non-family items of translation (*al-ʿaǧūz al-bayyāʿa* > ἡ γραια πρώτρεα 594b) both of which occur in the same phrase. In spite of the strikingly similar preference for a pure style of transliteration only, the translators and copyists were different for both the Catania and Aci documents. Not only are the Arabic and Greek hands markedly different,

but the Greek scribe who translated the Catania manuscript favoured the unique transcription of the Arabic letter *ǧīm /ǧ/* as γζ. In clear contrast, the Aci transcriber (with a single exception) preferred the more standard rendition of τζ. Several other manuscripts are very short and thus do not provide a great deal of evidence. Translations occur infrequently and perhaps the most significant feature of translated items is that the earliest occurred in 1095 and that this practice continued, albeit sporadically, throughout the Norman period. This permissive approach to translation can only have facilitated the spread of linguistic interferences, the liberal use and transmission of loan words and the continuation of literary fashions which were already well established within the scribal culture of the Arabic *dīwān*.

It is evident from the table of translations (see below) that the scribes' treatment of the definite article, in both Greek (ὁ) and Arabic (*al-*), varied.<sup>47</sup> In Greek, the definite article appears before personal name when referred to in the third person. Incidentally, this usage is shared by modern formal, and particularly northern Italian, but it is not shared by any Arabic dialect. The grammatical mismatch between Greek and Arabic may go some way to accounting for the variations in treatment of the Arabic definite article by the Greek scribes. In this respect, there were four possibilities:

- 1 deletion of the Greek definite article;
- 2 substitution of the Arabic definite article with the Greek article;
- 3 omission of both Greek and Arabic definite articles;
- 4 transliteration of the Arabic article into Greek.

By way of an example using the common surname *al-ḥaǧǧām*, the attested possibilities are as cited in Table 8.10.

In the various examples cited in Tables 8.11–8.15, we can see how these differences are broadly aligned with the registers and how combinations appear in some lists, but not others, according to the particular style of the scribes. Five of the most common villein surnames (*al-ḥaǧǧām*, *al-ḥarīrī*, *al-naǧǧār*, *al-qaṭṭān* and *al-mu'addib*) have been selected to illustrate the possible variations, their frequency of occurrence and their distribution. The sample of over 140 names is not exhaustive but serves to illustrate particular trends clearly and typically.

Table 8.10 Treatment of the definite article in Greek and Arabic

1	deletion	χατζέμ	<	الحجام	<i>al-ḥaǧǧām</i>
2	substitution	ὁ χατζέμ	<	الحجام	<i>al-ḥaǧǧām</i>
3	omission	χατζέμ	<	حجام	<i>ḥaǧǧām</i>
4	transliteration	ἐλχατζέμ	<	الحجام	<i>al-ḥaǧǧām</i>

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Table 8.11 *al-ḥaḡḡām* ('the barber') >

<i>Deletion</i>	<i>Substitution</i>	<i>Omission</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>	
χατζέμ χαγγέμ χαγγέμης χαγγέμης χανζέμ	ὁ χατζέμ ὁ χατζέμης ὁ χατζέμης	<i>ḥaḡḡām</i>	ἐλχατζέμ ἤλχαζέμ	
1	0	0	4	Catania 1145
3	0	0	1	Cefalù 1145
1	0	0	0	Aci 1145
3	2	0	3	Monreale '78
4	0	0	0	Monreale '83

Table 8.12 *al-ḥarīrī* ('the silk-worker') >

<i>Deletion</i>	<i>Substitution</i>	<i>Omission</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>	
χαρέρη χαρέρες χαρίρη χαρέρες χαρέρις	ὁ χαρέρης ὁ χαρίρες	<i>ḥarīrī</i>	ἐλχαρέρη ἐλχαρήρ' ἤλχαρέρη ἐλχαρίρι ἤλχαρίρι	
0	0	0	15	Catania 1145
1	0	0	0	Cefalù 1145
2	0	0	2	Aci 1145
7	0	0	6	Monreale 1178
18	4	1	0	Monreale 1183

Table 8.13 *al-naḡḡār* ('the carpenter') >

<i>Deletion</i>	<i>Substitution</i>	<i>Omission</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>	
νιγάρ νηνζάρ νιτζάρ νιγζίαρ	ὁ νιτζάρ	<i>naḡḡār</i>	ἐλνιγζάρ ἤννητζάρ ἐλνετζάρ	
1	0	0	0	Palermo 1095
1	0	0	0	Patti 1132
1	0	0	1	Catania 1145
1	0	0	1	Cefalù 1145
0	0	0	1	Aci 1145
1	0	0	4	Monreale 1178
3	0	0	0	Monreale 1183

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Table 8.14 *al-qattān* ('the cotton worker/seller') >

<i>Deletion</i>	<i>Substitution</i>	<i>Omission</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>	
καπτάν καπτάνης χαπτάνης	ὁ καπτάν[ης]	<i>qattān</i>	ἐλκαπτάν ἐλκαπτάνι ἐλκατάν ἐλκατ[άν]	
0	0	0	7	Catania 1145
2	0	0	3	Monreale 1178
8	0	1	0	Monreale 1183

Table 8.15 *al-mu'addib* ('learnèd') >

<i>Deletion</i>	<i>Substitution</i>	<i>Omission</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>	
μουούτηπ μούτιπο[ς] μουέδδεπ μουούδιπος μουούνδιπο[ς] μουούνδεπ	ὁ μουούδεπ	<i>mu'addib</i>	ἐλμουούδεπ ἐλμουούτεπ ἐλμουούδδεπ ἐλμουούτδεπ ἐλμουούτυπ ἤλμουούδεπ ἤλμουούτδεπ ἤλμουούτηπ ἤλμουούτδεπ	
0	0	0	4	Catania 1145
0	0	0	1	Aci 1145
0	0	0	1	Corleone 1151
4	0	0	4	Monreale 1178
18	0	3	0	Monreale 1183

To summarise the patterns and forms found in the above table we find the variations distributed as in Tables 8.16–8.19.

The results from the sample study show sharp divergences in the treatment of the Arabic and Greek definite articles. Once again, we find the registers from Catania and Monreale of 1183 defining opposite trends of almost total transliteration or alternatively, of resolving the Arabic definite article into a Greek one or eliding it completely.

In both dialect and standard forms of Arabic, the definite article is assimilated before a 'sun letter'.<sup>48</sup> For example, السلام is written as *al-salām* but pronounced as /as-salām/ in spite of its spelling. In the villein registers, we can see two different approaches to dealing with this assimilation. The name *'Abd al-Rahmān* has been chosen as an example to illustrate the various manifestations of its equivalent in Greek for the reason that was it a common name and therefore appears frequently across all the main villein registers. Besides which, it was an easy name for Greeks to pronounce, since

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Table 8.16 Deletion of the Arabic definite article in Greek

<i>Arabic article</i>	>	<i>no Greek article</i>	<i>Deletion:</i>	<i>no of egs</i>	%
<i>al-</i>	>	–	✓ Catania 1145	2/33	6
<i>al-</i>	>	–	✓ Cefalù 1145	5/7	71
<i>al-</i>	>	–	✓ Aci 1145	3/7	43
<i>al-</i>	>	–	✓ Monreale '78	17/39	44
<i>al-</i>	>	–	✓ Monreale '83	51/55	93

Table 8.17 Substitution of the Arabic definite article in Greek

<i>Arabic article</i>	>	<i>Greek article</i>	<i>Substitution:</i>	<i>no of egs</i>	%
<i>al-</i>	>	ὁ	Catania 1145	0/33	0
<i>al-</i>	>	ὁ	Cefalù 1145	0/7	0
<i>al-</i>	>	ὁ	Aci 1145	0/7	0
<i>al-</i>	>	ὁ	✓ Monreale '78	2/39	5
<i>al-</i>	>	ὁ	✓ Monreale '83	4/55	7

Table 8.18 Omission of the definite article in both Arabic and Greek

<i>no Arabic article</i>	>	<i>no Greek article</i>	<i>Omission:</i>	<i>no of egs</i>	%
∅	>	∅	Catania 1145	0/33	0
∅	>	∅	Cefalù 1145	0/7	0
∅	>	∅	Aci 1145	0/7	0
∅	>	∅	Monreale '78	0/39	0
∅	>	∅	✓ Monreale '83	5/55	9

Table 8.19 Transliteration of the Arabic definite article into Greek

<i>Arabic article</i>	>	<i>no Greek article</i>	<i>Transliteration:</i>	<i>no of egs</i>	%
<i>al-</i>	>	ελ/ηλ	✓ Catania 1145	31/33	94
<i>al-</i>	>	ελ/ηλ	✓ Cefalù 1145	2/7	29
<i>al-</i>	>	ελ/ηλ	✓ Aci 1145	4/7	57
<i>al-</i>	>	ελ/ηλ	✓ Monreale '78	20/39	51
<i>al-</i>	>	ελ-	Monreale '83	0/55	0

it did not contain any sounds that were greatly divergent from those in the Greek phonemic inventory.

On the one hand, some Greek scribes wrote *ἀβδεῖραχμὲν* or *ἀυδεῖραχμὲν* apparently assimilating the Arabic article from *al-* to *ar-*, while others retained the article and produced *ἀβδελαραχμὲν* or *ἀυδελαραχμὲν*. Caracausi has

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explained these variations phonetically by suggesting that the Arabic definite article was partially assimilated in Sicilian Arabic. Thus, he stated that:

the registers of the Norman period, the Greek forms of which quite accurately reflect the actual sound of the corresponding Arabic forms, may show that in twelfth-century Sicily the phenomenon [of assimilation] was not in an advanced stage of development. Indeed, they read, for example, *ἐλδοῦπ* (Cusa p.168) and *ἐττουπβ* (p.475) for *al-dubb*, *ἀβδελνοῦρ* (p.156) and *ἀβδιννοῦρ* (p.246) for *ʿAbd al-Nūr* and countless other similar pairs.<sup>49</sup>

However, a more convincing explanation presents itself when we match the variations with the registers. These are shown in Table 8.20.

The results, which could not be clearer, suggest that the writing of the Arabic definite article as assimilated or not, depended on the style of the particular scribe at the time. These results are supported by other similar forms. For instance, to use Caracausi's own example of *ʿAbd al-Nūr*, it is clear that he has dealt somewhat eclectically with the evidence for non or

Table 8.20 Assimilation of the Arabic definite article: varying renditions of the Arabic name *ʿAbd al-Rahmān*

*ʿAbd al-Rahmān* >

<i>Assimilation</i>	<i>Non-Assimilation</i>	<i>% Assimilated</i>	
<i>ἀβδερραχμάν</i>	<i>ἀβδελραχμάν</i>		
<i>ἀνδερραχμάν</i>	<i>ἀνδελραχμάν</i>		
<i>ἀβδερραχμέν</i>			
<i>ἀνδερραχμέν</i>			
<i>ἀβδερραχμῆν</i>			
<i>ἀβδερραχμ'</i>			
<i>ἀνδερραχμ'</i>			
1	0	100	Palermo 1095?
4	0	100	Patti 1132
1	0	100	Palermo 1143
1	0	100	Forestal 1145
18	0	100	Catania 1145
8	0	100	Cefalù 1145
9	0	100	Aci 1145?
3	0	100	Corleone 1151
1	0	100	Termini 1169
2	21	9	Monreale 1178
2.5	0	100	Monreale 1183

partial assimilation taking it only from one particular register, while ignoring the rest. Thus, for renditions of *ʿAbd al-Nūr*, we find (references to Cusa in brackets): *ʿAbd al-Nūr* > *ἀνδελνούς*, Monreale 1178 (140b); *ʿAbd al-Nūr* > *ἀνδελνούς*, Monreale 1178 (156a); *ʿAbd al-Nūr* > *ἀνδελνούς*, Monreale 1178 (165a); *ʿAbd al-Nūr* > *ἀβδελνούς*, Monreale 1178 (170a); *ʿAbd al-Nūr* > *ἀνδλνούς*, Monreale 1178 (170a); *ʿAbd al-Nūr* > *ἀνδινούς*, Monreale 1183 (246a); *ʿAbd al-Nūr* > *ἀνθενούς*, Monreale 1183 (260b); *ʿAbd al-Nūr* > *ἀβθενούς*, Catania 1145 (564b); *ʿAbd al-Nūr* > *ἀβθενούς*, Catania 1145 (568b); *ʿAbd al-Nūr* > *ἀβθενούς*, Catania 1145 (581a); *ʿAbd al-Nūr* > *ἀβθενούς(?)*, Palermo 1144 (614b).

The variations in the Greek suggest that the scribe of the Monreale 1178 document, with respect to the Arabic definite article, often produced a *transliteration* of the Arabic. That is to say, he preferred to write a letter for letter correspondence while the other Greek scribes were producing *transcriptions* or spellings with reference to the sound of the Arabic. This observation is of fundamental importance in our understanding of the relationship between letter-for-letter correspondences and the assigning of phonetic values inferred from them.

### The definite article, linguistic interference and translation

Thus far, we have observed the diversity of treatment of the Arabic definite article in both Arabic and Greek and have drawn some conclusions about its possible uses and forms. The debate, which also raises some points of methodology, can now proceed to examine how the coincidence of a substituted Arabic article for a Greek one often introduced or followed a translated or inflected form. All such examples from the villein registers have been cited below and show the relationships between the Greek article where it stands in place of an Arabic article, linguistic interferences in the form of Greek inflections (usually suffixes) or the use of translation in favour of transliteration. Thus:

*Arabic names that have undergone the effects of combined interferences from Greek (date attested, register and page references to Cusa in brackets)*

ὁ ἴσες < \*Īsā (3a Palermo 1095); ὁ ἀγζιμος < \*al-ʿAḡamī (3a Palermo 1095); ἀλῆς ραπίτης < ʿAlī al-Rabīb (68a Palermo 1143); ὁ γέρων ἴσες < al-Šaykh ʿĪsā (476a Cefalù 1145); βασιλιος τῆς χαγγέμας < \*Bāsīlī al-Ḥaḡḡām (27b Nicótera 1145); ὁ χάκκης < al-Ḥāḡḡ (128a Forestal 1145); ὁ γίτζιλς < al-ʿAḡīl (136b Monreale 1178); ἀλῆς ὁ καλλέλ < ʿAlī al-Qilāl (136b Monreale 1178); ὁ γαλλούνης < al-Galūnī (137b Monreale 1178); ὁ βαρτίλις < al-Bārtīlī (137b Monreale 1178); ἀλῆς ὁ σάκις < ʿAlī al-Šāqī (138b Monreale 1178); ὁ μουκάτελ'ς < Muqātil (138a Monreale 1178); οὐμούρ'ς ὁ γέρων < ʿUmar al-Šaykh (139a Monreale 1178); ἐβούβκερ ὁ τζαγγάρης < Abū Bakr al-Ġazzār

(139a Monreale 1178); ὁ βέρβερης < al-Barbarī (139a Monreale 1178); ὁ χατζέμις < al-Ḥaḡḡām (141a Monreale 1178); ὁ βίκρης < al-Bakrī (141b Monreale 1178); ὁ μουστέουης < al-Muztāwī (142a Monreale 1178); ὁ σουμέτης < al-Sūmātī (142a Monreale 1178); ὁ σαδικας < Ṣadaqa (142a Monreale 1178); ὁ γάτζιμις < al-‘Aḡamī (142a Monreale 1178); ὁ φικέρινης < al-F.kār.nī (142a Monreale 1178); ἀλῖς ὁ θέρμ’ς < ‘Alī al-Tirmī (142b Monreale 1178); ἀνδάλλα ὁ γαρήφης < ‘Abdallāh al-Ġ.rif (142b Monreale 1178); ὁ φικῆς < al-Faqih (142b Monreale 1178); ἄλι ὁ χάτζις < ‘Alī al-Ḥāḡḡ (144b Monreale 1178); ὁ ρεφφέσης < al-Raffāš (145b Monreale 1178); ὁ χαφούρης < al-Ḥāfūrī (146a Monreale 1178); ἀλῖς ἀδελφός τοῦ τζάληση < ‘Alī akhū l-Ġālīšī (151b Monreale 1178); ἀβράμιος μακρ’ς < Ibrahīm al-Tawīl (153a Monreale 1178); ἀλῖς χαρέρ’ς < ‘Alī al-Ḥarīrī (155a Monreale 1178); ὁ ἀδελφός τοῦ κτήστου < Akhū l-Bannā (155b Monreale 1178); ὁ μούσες ραμμέκ’ς < Mūsā al-Rammākī (157b Monreale 1178); ἰωσήφ ὁ καλφάτ’ς < Yūsuf al-Qalfāt (161b Monreale 1178); χουσέην ἀνθρωπος τοῦ καλογέρου < Ḥusayn raḡul al-Rāhib (163b Monreale 1178); ὁ βούβκερ ὁ μυλαῖος < Abū Bakr al-Taḥḥān (168a Monreale 1178); ὁ φουρνάνι ἀλῖς < al-Furnānī ‘Alī (169b Monreale 1178); ὁ γέρων χαλλούφης ὁ θεῖος αὐτῶν < al-Ṣaykh Khalūf (172a Monreale 1178); οὐθμα’[ν] ἀνεπιός τζάχφαρ’ς < ‘Utmān bin akhū [Ġa’far] (173b Monreale 1178); ὁ συγγενής βουλκα’μου < silf-hu Abū l-Qasim (176b Monreale 1178); ἀλῖς ὁ υἱός ράπτου < ‘Alī bin al-Khayyāt (247a Monreale 1183); ἴχιες ὁ ἀδελφός αὐτῶν < Yaḥyā akhū-hum (247b Monreale 1183); οὐθμέν’ς ὁ υἱός οὐκ’λ ἰωσήφ < ‘Utmān bin al-Wakīl Yūsuf (247b Monreale 1183); ἴσες ὁ ἀδελφός αὐτοῦ < ‘Īsā akhū-hu (247b Monreale 1183); ἀζούζ ὁ μέζηρης < ‘Azūz al-Māzarī (248a Monreale 1183); βουλκ’μ υἱός τοῦ κοφου < B.l-Qasim bin al-Tūrūš (250b Monreale 1183); ἄχμετ ὁ παλλούτ’ς < Aḥmad al-Balūṭī (250b Monreale 1183); ἀμμάρ υἱός ράπτου < ‘Ammār bin al-Khayyāt (251b Monreale 1183); ἀνδελαλής ὁ συγγενής αὐτοῦ < ‘Abd al-‘ālī šihr-hu (251b Monreale 1183); οὐμορ’ς υἱός ράπτου < ‘Umar bin al-Khayyāt (254b Monreale 1183); ὁ χὰτζ ἀλῖς τοῦ χωρίου οὐτα < al-Ḥāḡḡ bi-raḥl al-Waṭā (257b Monreale 1183); ἀλῖς ἀνεπιός ἀράπ < ‘Alī bin ukht al-‘Arabī (257a Monreale 1183); ὁ χὰτζ μούσες < al-Ḥāḡḡ Mūsā (257b Monreale 1183); οὐθμέν ὁ πούνης < ‘Utmān al-Būnī (259a Monreale 1183); ἀλῖς ὁ χάνφ’ς < ‘Alī al-Ḥanafī (260a Monreale 1183); ἴσες ὁ μάλτ’ς < ‘Īsā al-Māl.tī (260a Monreale 1183); ὁ γέρον σελλ’μ ὁ κερράμ’ς < al-Ṣaykh Salām al-Karāmī (261a Monreale 1183); ὁ μουάλμ ἀτίες < al-Mu‘allim ‘Aṭiya (262a Monreale 1183); ἀλῖς ὁ ἀφρικ’ν < ‘Alī al-Ifriqī (262b Monreale 1183); ἴσες τοῦ μινζιλκόρτ < ‘Īsā bi-Manzil Q.rṭ (262b Monreale 1183); χουσεῖ’[ν] ὁ φέσης < Ḥusayn al-Fāsī (263a Monreale 1183); ἀλ’ς ὁ μεχδούνης < ‘Alī al-Mahdawī (263a Monreale 1183); ὁ μούνδ’π ἴσες ὁ υἱός μούσε < al-Mu‘addib ‘Īsā bin Mūsā (263b Monreale 1183); ἀλῖς ὁ πούνης < ‘Alī al-Būnī (263b Monreale 1183); ἀλ’ς ὁ ράπτης < ‘Alī al-Khayyāt (263b Monreale 1183); ὁ γέρον σελλέμ’ς < al-Ṣaykh Salām (264a Monreale 1183); ἀλῖς ὁ πικρέκ < ‘Alī al-Bakrāk (265b Monreale 1183); ἀλῖς ὁ συγγενῆς ἀνδεραχμήμ < ‘Alī šihr ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (265b Monreale 1183); φεττὰχ ὁ



ἀνθρωπὸς τοῦ κουράτορος < Fattāḥ rāḡil al-Wakīl (266b Monreale 1183); ὁ βουννιτζ' τὸ ὄρφανον τοῦ κουράτορος < Bū l-Naḡā yatīm al-Wakīl (267a Monreale 1183); οὔμορ'ς ὁ φιχ'ς < 'Umar al-Fiqih (268b Monreale 1183); χάσεν ὁ χαρέρης < Ḥasan al-Ḥarīrī (269a Monreale 1183); ἀνδιλπέρ'ς ὁ μερμούρ'ς < 'Abd al-Bārī al-Marmūrī (273b Monreale 1183); ἰωσήφ ὁ υἱὸς μακρί < Yūsuf bin al-Ṭawīl (274b Monreale 1183); ὁ γέρων ἀβδέλλας < al-Ṣaykh 'Abdallāh (274b Monreale 1183); ὁ πούν'ς < al-Būnī (275a Monreale 1183); ἴσες ὁ χαρέρης < 'Isā al-Ḥarīrī (275b Monreale 1183); νίμες ὁ γαύτισης < Nī'ma al-Ḡawdisī (276a Monreale 1183); βουλφάρατζ ὁ υἱὸς ράπτου < B.l-Faraḡ bin al-Khayyāt (276b Monreale 1183); ὁ χάτζ' ἀλῆς < al-Ḥāḡḡ 'Alī (281a Monreale 1183); οὐθμά[ν] ὁ ράπτης < 'Uṭmān al-Khayyāt (285a Monreale 1183); μαιμ'ν ὁ υἱὸς φλεβωτ'μ < Maymūn bin al-Fāsid (285a Monreale 1183); ὁ μούνδιπος χίλφες < al-Mu'addib Khilfa (285a Monreale 1183); ἀλῆς πρόγονος τοῦ οὐαχαράνη < 'Alī rabīb al-Wāhrānī (285a Monreale 1183) and ἀλῆς ὁ ῥογουσ'ς ὁ χαρέρης < 'Alī al-Raḡūs al-Ḥarīrī (285b Monreale 1183).

It is evident from the examples above, that the features of the Greek definite article, interferences in the form of Greek inflections and translations tend to appear together or in combinations. Whilst the substitution of the Arabic article for a Greek one often seems to introduce an inflection or translation, this is not always the case and there are no grounds for *necessarily* connecting these features. However, it is worth observing that the presence of one or more of these traits seemed to act as a conditioning factor in determining the transcription process. Not only did bilingual Arabic-Greek speakers incorporate these interferences into their vernacular speech, but also these same traits continued to be important characteristics of later, related dialects which often merged Greek and/or Romance elements with Arabic. This practice is a characteristic of many Greek documents and particularly of later Latin translations of Arabic. However, as far as the evidence will allow us to trace the origins of this genre in Sicily, we can only say that it appears to have been already established in Greek by the beginning of the twelfth century and was continued by the Latin tradition into the fourteenth and beyond. It may, of course, have been perfectly possible for the Latin tradition to have developed this genre without reference to the Greek precedent. While this prevents us from establishing causality between the two, it seems likely that there was an association between the Greek and the Latin with regard to stylistic influence and the direction of its flow. A table summarizing the main linguistic tendencies across the villein registers is given in Table 8.21.

Several important conclusions about the type and status of the evidence may be elicited from these observations. First, that the treatment of Arabic names by different Greek scribes varied between registers and therefore do not present a consistent set of linguistic data with which to work. Second,

Table 8.21 Summary table of the main linguistic tendencies from the Arabic-Greek *ğarā'id al-rīğāl* 1095–1183

<i>ğarida</i>	Translation of some Arabic elements into Greek	Greek inflections in Arabic names	Deletion of the Arabic article <i>al-</i> > -	Substitution of Arabic with Greek article <i>al-</i> > <i>ô</i>	Omission of both definite articles - > -	Transliteration of the Arabic definite article <i>al-</i> > <i>êλ</i>	Assimilation of Arabic sun-letters <i>al-r</i> > <i>âpp</i>
Catania 1145						✓	✓
Aci 1145(?)						✓	✓
Cefalù 1145	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
Monreale 1178	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Monreale 1183	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Others 1095–1169	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓

when certain linguistic features appear, such as the use of the Greek definite article or interferences from Greek, then they tend to appear together. As for the Greek scribes' treatment of the Arabic, certain common features such as the assimilation and agglutination of the definite article, which were exhibited over a long period, suggest they were transcribing the Arabic with at least some reference to a local pronunciation. The pronunciation traits made by scribes known to be Greek-Arabic bilinguals were also shared in Sicilian dialect forms, pointing to evidence for how wider bilingualism might have developed.

### Hybridized terms: the Sicilian Arabic for 'pig-farmer'

The Greek scribes' rendition of the Arabic raises a number of points of historical interest. Of particular note is the ways in which Arabic and Greek or Italo-Greek of Sicily had affected each other with regard to their pronunciation in addition to the exchange of various loan words. However, since Greek inflections in Arabic names are attested only in the Greek and rarely in the writing of the Arabic itself, the phonological evidence cannot be easily corroborated. We can say that, given the Greek scribes' minor but consistent tendency to Hellenicize Arabic names, it is probable that this, together with the inclusion of loan words, *was* a feature of the speech of at least some Arabic-speaking Sicilian Greeks. That is to say, there were particular modes of expression used by bilingual Arabic-Greek speakers and that certain traces of this still survive. This, in turn, has important implications for the question of social integration during the period of Muslim rule and the existence of bilingual Arabic-Greek communities during the Islamic and Norman periods.

Occasionally, in the evidence to hand, we find that some form of interference had penetrated Arabic at a more fundamental level than simply the appropriation of loan words. Such evidence is hard to come by since the small body of extant Arabic documents (both royal and private) tended to be written in a formal and highly stylized manner. Frequent oddities, loan words, hypercorrections and aberrations can be found in this Arabic, which has sometimes been called 'Sicilian Middle Arabic', and which represents a type that falls somewhere between Classical Arabic and more colloquial or dialect forms.<sup>50</sup>

As the works of previous researchers in this field have shown, in later Sicilian dialects, there exist many hybridized forms and loan words derived from a mixture of Arabic and Greek or Italo-Greek, and we have already seen a number of examples of personal names and some loan words in Arabic that have come from Greek or Italo-Greek roots and vice versa. However, is there anything in the phonology of the Arabic that suggests it may have experienced similar influence in the Islamic and Norman periods, and which also fall outside the class of administrative nonsense words?

By way of a clear example that can serve to illustrate the wider picture, is that of the form *khanzārī* meaning ‘a pig-farmer’. This was formed from the Arabic for ‘pig’ (*khinzīr*) with the addition of an abbreviated Latinate suffix *ari[us]*, indicating a profession. The four occasions where this form is attested in Arabic during the Norman period are given thus (with the original Greek equivalent in brackets): *al-khanzārī* (= ὁ χοιρόβοσκ[ος]); *al-khanzārī* = (ὁ χοιρόβοσκ[ος]); *al-khanzārī* (= ἐλχαντζέρι); and *al-khanzārī* (= ὁ κοιροβόσκ[ος]).<sup>51</sup> All four of these individuals were villeins and at least two of them were registered as Christians in the region of Corleone.

An important objection may be made against this evidence. That is to say, as these forms were all made by the same Arabic scribe, they may therefore not have been genuine loan words and caution should be exercised in according them this status. However, in the case of *khanzārī*, vital corroborating evidence is at hand. The modern Sicilian towns of Ganzirri (10 km north of Messina) and San Michele di Ganzaria (17 km west of Caltagirone) to name but two, also appear to have been derived from Sicilian Arabic forms with non-Arabic suffixes. The latter case appears to have come from the hybridized Sicilian Arabic form *\*khanzariyya* (‘pigsty’) from *khanzār* (Arabic) + *-eria*. It should be noted that in Sicily, the suffixes *-eria* and *-ari* are well-attested in both Romance and Italo-Greek forms. Similarly, we might also note the Sicilian dialect term *canzirro* ‘piglet’, besides a host of other related toponyms and surnames.<sup>52</sup> There can be little doubt therefore that this hybrid form, attested during the Norman period, was actually used in vernacular Sicilian Arabic at that time.<sup>53</sup>

There is little from the evidence presented here to suggest a compelling argument that Muslims were involved in either the production or the eating of pigs. However, neither can the possibility of some tolerance of pork among frontier Muslim communities be ruled out entirely, although the frequent mention of pigs in the documentation of the time mainly concerns concessions to churches. On the other hand, the uneven distribution of toponymic references and dialect words borrowed from the Arabic for ‘pig’, suggest that Arabic speakers in the Val di Noto and Val Demone were more likely to have kept pigs, than those further west. These were the zones of less dense Muslim settlement and imply the existence of Arabic-speaking Christians in these areas whose numbers were sufficiently large – and whose Christian identity was sufficiently strong – to support activities that would not normally have been found in exclusively Muslim communities. The attested existence in 1178 of two heads-of-households from western Sicily, who were known to be both Christian and pig-farmers, is of particular interest. This implies that even in western areas such as Corleone, which had continued to be Muslim-dominated, activities normally considered forbidden to Muslims were, and had been, taking place in their midst by the 19 per cent of Arabicized Christian villeins (some of whom had Greek names) who also lived there, and who do not appear to have been newcomers to the area.

### New light on Greek and Italo-Greek interferences in Sicilian Arabic

The hybrid names for pig-farmers, however, were not the only strange forms attested in Sicilian Arabic that appear to show the effects of profound non-Arabic influence. The peculiar tendency for Sicilian Arabic to end some professional names with a final *yā* is again found in the non-Arabic form *anī*. Again, these occur in loan words from Greek, Italo-Greek or Romance. Thus, we find, *al-furnānī* meaning a ‘baker’;<sup>54</sup> *al-ǧallārī* ‘steward?’ cf. the Latin ‘cellarius’;<sup>55</sup> *burdunānī* ‘ox-driver’ cf. Latin ‘bordonarius’.<sup>56</sup> The curious propensity for Greek and Latinate loan words to end in *yā* (-ī) in Sicilian Arabic extends to other loan words such as the Sicilian Arabic *nuṭārī* for a ‘scribe’ (from the Latin *notarius*, but which is also attested as such in Sicilian Greek) and *\*tarrārī* meaning a landlord from the Greek *τερρέρης*.<sup>57</sup> The confused example of the Sicilian Arabic *al-qarāmidī* (‘a plasterer’) is worth mentioning at this juncture, since this appears to have been originally derived from the Arabic *qarmad* ‘plaster’, but was adopted into Sicilian Greek as a loan word *καράμιτης*, (‘a plasterer’) from where the modern Sicilian surname ‘Ciaramitaro’ comes.<sup>58</sup> However, the Sicilian Arabic *qarāmidī* shows all the signs of having been taken back from the Greek with the loss of the inflectional suffix. One might wonder whether this could have occurred, had there not been a substantial linguistic interchange between Arabic and Greek speakers on the island.

Perhaps the large and peculiar body of names attested in Arabic that terminate in *ī*, follow a similar pattern to the addition of *ari[us]* and *ani*, but may have been the vestigial remains of Greek inflectional ending -ι[ς] or in other instances, an abbreviated form of the agent noun ending -της[ς]. As such, they appear to follow the same type of reduction in Greek that gives rise to the forms, attested in both Greek and Arabic, of, for example, the personal name *Māǧūlī* and *Μαγούλη* (and also as the Sicilian name *Maguli*) from the fuller form in Greek of *Μαγούλης*.<sup>59</sup> Thus, Greek or Latin influence may be behind the peculiar Sicilian Arabic preference for the highly unusual Arabic form *fa‘ilī* or *fa‘cīlī*, although we might note the existence of the rare pattern, *fa‘ā’ilī* in Classical (but not Sicilian) Arabic. Crucially, we find some of these terminations attested in Arabic as well as Greek and Latin, and across a range of different documents too.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, many of these hybrid forms survived into later Sicilian dialects too. Caracausi has recorded eighteen separate examples of this type from the medieval period including, *cassirarius* (1254 *Rollus Rubeus*, 194, ‘mat-maker’ < Arabic *ḥašīra* ‘mat’), *χανουτέριος* (1166, Cusa p. 75, ‘wine-seller’ < Arabic *ḥanūt* ‘tavern’) and *surterius* (1282, ‘guard, policeman’ < Arabic *šurṭa* ‘policeman’).<sup>61</sup> Well-attested is the suffix *ia* or *eria* appended to an Arabic form usually to indicate the place of an activity.<sup>62</sup> Also relatively common in Sicily was the back-formation of Latinate verbs from Arabic noun stems.<sup>63</sup>

The very existence of such confused forms implies and supports the idea that some, perhaps a high degree of, linguistic melange had accompanied the processes of social acculturation in its various guises. In particular, Romance, Greek and/or Italo-Greek influences also highlight a defining characteristic of Sicilian Arabic that distinguished it from other Magribī dialect forms. Furthermore, the preference for the forms cited above, some of which are attested in the Arabic of the Norman period, shows that Greek, Italo-Greek and later Latinate influences had given of Sicilian Arabic a peculiar and defining trait and shows traits of dialectal levelling across the island's different tongues.

### Dialectal levelling: the case of nasalization

Another case of particular interest to the question of dialectal levelling between different languages in Sicily is that of nasalization. Like noun duplication, it was common to Sicilian Arabic, Greek and Italo-Greek dialects but is rare in Arabic dialects generally. In twelfth-century Sicily, this phenomenon is well-attested over a long period, and the various terms that it influenced then have persisted in much the same form into the modern period. As such, this is good evidence to suggest that nasalization was a feature of at least some of the islander's speech at the time, and it is thought most likely that this was due to the influence of Greek.<sup>64</sup> Perhaps the best example of this is the noun *χαγγέμης* pronounced /ħaŋgémis/, which was a professional name that also appears to have been used as a 'surname'. The term derives from the Arabic, *ħaġġām* ('cupper' or 'barber') which is attested as early as 1098 and is subsequently very well-attested throughout the twelfth century.<sup>65</sup> It was a popular personal name across the island, but especially so in the east. Indeed, it has given rise to the modern Sicilian surnames *Cancemi*, *Cangemi*, *Cognemi*, *Gaggemi* and *Gangemi*; all bar one of which show the same nasalization.<sup>66</sup> The relative lack of corroborative examples in Arabic make it difficult to tell whether this nasalized pronunciation, which was so influential as to have persisted until the modern period, was also a feature of the Sicilian Arabic. However, other examples in Greek and later Sicilian dialect forms show that nasalization of certain combinations of consonants that appeared together in the Arabic was widespread and was certainly a characteristic feature of the Sicilian Greek pronunciation of Arabic, if not of Sicilian Arabic itself. For example, on very many occasions, the Arabic name *Bū Bakr* became *βούγκερ* (where *γκ* > /ŋk/),<sup>67</sup> while *al-ʿaqqār* became *ἐλαγκάρ*;<sup>68</sup> *muʿaddib* ('learned') > *μουούνδδεπ*, *μούνδιπ*, *μούνδιπος* or *μούνδεπ*;<sup>69</sup> *al-baqqārī* ('cow-herder') > *ἄλβαγκάρι*;<sup>70</sup> *al-dukkās* > *ἐπδογκές*;<sup>71</sup> *al-naqqāš* ('painter') > *ἐνναγκάς*;<sup>72</sup> *al-Sāqī* ('from Sciacca') > *σάγκη*;<sup>73</sup> *Makkī* ('Meccan') > *μίγκη*;<sup>74</sup> *makhādīd* ('cushion') > *μουχάνδιδα*.<sup>75</sup> However, there is also evidence to suggest that nasalization was not only a feature of Sicilian Greek but also of Sicilian

Romance and Sicilian Arabic. In the Monreale register, within the boundary of the estate of Malbiṭ, we find that the Arabic *ḥissat al-taballuḡ* became *cultura tablengi* in the Latin.<sup>76</sup> Nasalization would also explain the name of the hill of Cangialoso (< Arabic, Ġaliṣū), south of Corleone in south-west Sicily and the host of related surnames (all with nasalization) that derive from the place-name.<sup>77</sup> Also of note from a later period are *Casale Burgimangini* < [burġ] *al-māġinī* ('tower of the cistern')<sup>78</sup> and *Xangirotta*, *Sangirotta* and *Changirotta*, derived ultimately from the Arabic *ḥaġar* or 'stone'.<sup>79</sup> Of particular interest for this debate is the example of *inġāša* (probably meaning 'a pear orchard'), which is attested in Sicily and is written twice as such in Sicilian Arabic.<sup>80</sup> In Classical Arabic, *inġāša* should be written as *iġġāša*, but nasalization of a type that precisely parallels that of the Sicilian Greek and Latin has produced a deviant form. Suffice to say that, on this point, the principal dialects of the island appear at least to have shared an unusual and distinctive characteristic.

### A way forward for future research?

Although the conclusion of Michele Amari, and almost all those who have followed him, that Sicilian Arabic was a type of Maġribī Arabic has again been upheld in this chapter, it can now be clarified and qualified. Observations that have been made several times outside this volume concerning the presence of *imāla* and emphatic pronunciation (*tafkhīm*) in Sicilian Arabic are uncontroversial and relatively well-known among those who study this field. However, a systematic approach and the recognition of the transliteration versus transcription differences, as well as the key question of orthographic consistency have been addressed here for the first time in earnest. That said, it would be of little surprise if the future examination of a set of decently edited texts confirms many long-held suspicions about the phonology of Sicilian Arabic. Indications suggest that further research is also likely to turn up several items of vocabulary that are similar to forms found across modern North Africa or Spain. I also suspect, although it is impossible to tell from Cusa's version without recourse to the manuscripts, that research into stress patterns by comparing where the accent falls in Greek renditions of disyllabic Arabic names may possibly reveal traces of a Maġribī stress system. For example, *khazar* > *χαζάρ* for *χαζαρ* (Cusa p. 570b). Perhaps in the same vein is the lengthening of a short vowel to a long one in the word *k.rāfs* for the more usual *karafs* (Cusa, p. 233 meaning 'celery'), or a general preference for Form II verbs at the expense of Form IV verbs? That said, I also suspect that this tricky evidence will be conflicting, and may ultimately be inconclusive.

However, is it also possible, indeed quite likely, that phenomena such as common loan words, interferences, nasalization and *-ī* endings in Arabic names presented here which are attested in the Arabic itself signal that

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Sicilian Arabic had been significantly influenced by non-Arabic, especially Greek and Italo-Greek dialects. These points may be combined with what is known of the lengthy period of acculturation that many communities in Sicily underwent during the Islamic and Norman periods, as well as with observations concerning the numbers of loan words from Greek and Italo-Greek dialects as well as those among otherwise 'Arab-Muslim' villeins to conclude that Sicilian Arabic was indeed of a Magribī type, but characterized first by the influence of Greek and/or Italo-Greek and later by Romance interferences that affected both phonology and loan words, but for which only a relatively small amount of valuable evidence remains due to the wholesale resettlement and re-Latinization of the island that the Norman period introduced.



## FROM ARAB-MUSLIM TO LATIN-CHRISTIAN: A MODEL FOR CHANGE?

It would be difficult to deny that the ‘Norman’ kingdom of Sicily was anything but enormously fragmented and had been forcibly cobbled together from areas and peoples that were geographically, linguistically, religiously, administratively, culturally and politically diverse. Indeed, it is no surprise, given the internal and external pressures brought to bear on it, that the Norman kingdom proper lasted barely sixty-five years. However, these were rather special years in southern Italian history, and ones that had seen Palermo as arguably the most populous city in Europe, and almost certainly its richest at the height of the High Middle Ages. Yet, these general observations obscure the difficulty of how to establish general truths that might be applied accurately to communities with their own dynamics which operated across regional boundaries, and which underwent a number of significant changes over the course of the Islamic and Norman periods. Although this present work deals primarily with the Arabic-speaking Muslim communities, and has thus focussed on events and states of affairs on the island of Sicily (as opposed to the mainland), it is no less easy to articulate their general circumstances, reactions and changes that affected successive generations. This final section attempts to piece together conclusions from the previous chapters and to give a summarized account of Sicily’s fundamental transition from a largely Arabic-speaking Muslim island to an essentially ‘Latin’-speaking Christian one.

While this volume has spent some time examining the kingdom’s society in virtue of its relationships with institutions such as the administration, attempts have also been made to identify forces at work within the society that brought about change and shaped the boundaries which distinguished one community from another. Thus, while the remark that religion played a divisive and defining role in the kingdom is unquestionable, we have also observed that, when divided according to language, the kingdom’s religious communities did not always coincide with its linguistic groups. The overlap between the two reveals Arabic-speaking Christians and Jews who, in terms of manners and speech, were close to the Muslims. However, in other terms, only the Christians were on the same side of the religious divide as

the Norman leaders and Latin settlers from the Italian mainland. Indeed, we have also seen the complex ways in which language, as well as religion, played an important role as a transmitter of identity, all the more so when the religious boundaries were, particularly in the dim eyes of the newly-arrived 'Latin' contingents, uncomfortably indistinct and liable to suspicious variation.

As far as the language question is concerned, two main factors on which it is contingent render it inseparable from social, religious and administrative considerations. First, references and conclusions about language and language-use are drawn largely from the documentation of the period. Second, inferences can also be made from observations arising from, for example, demography and various interactions between different settlers as well as from supporting evidence related in narrative sources. The interdependency of these questions forces us to address several related issues together and to take both a long and wide view on the situation before the Norman period and the changes that occurred during it.

During the 200 years of Muslim rule, it is not a matter of controversy that Islam never became the island's sole religion. This was due to a number of factors including the predominance of Muslim settlement in the west of the island, juxtaposed to sporadic but lengthy Christian opposition that was more concentrated in the north-east of the island. Far more difficult to assess is the impact of acculturation to Arab-Islamic norms or the extent of religious conversion during that period. But in the same way that Islam never became the sole religion on the island, Arabic never entirely supplanted Greek dialects either.<sup>1</sup> The Greek communities had once represented the height of Byzantine culture in the western Mediterranean, and so regarded the fall of the island to the Muslims of all people, as a catastrophe, and their social institutions and religious infrastructure appear to have come close to collapse subsequently. Nonetheless, the Greek church did survive and later documents composed in Greek from the Val Demone testify to the residual strength of Byzantine culture on the island, albeit in a severely reduced form.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the areas in which Greek dialects were more prominent most probably coincided with higher densities of Christian settlement and it is also quite probable that an association remained between some knowledge of Greek and the continued practice of Christianity which prevented the island ever becoming monolingually Arabic-speaking. The strength of this associative identity (although not necessarily the perceived importance attached to it) may have been less in Christian communities where Arabic had for several generations been the principal language of communication. The revival of the Sicilian 'Greek' communities during the Norman period, together with the reintroduction of prestigious Latinate dialects of new settlers, spoken by many of the ruling and ecclesiastical elite, was in contradistinction to the fate of Arabic, which

would exchange its once prestigious status for an increasingly stigmatic association with Islam.

In the ninth and tenth centuries, the impact of Muslim resettlement of conquered areas appears to have been uneven, such that towns and defensive sites were quickly repopulated, while rural areas may have undergone much slower processes of assimilation. In turn, this mottled distribution is likely to have created a number of socio-religious and linguistic contrasts, with some places showing tell-tale signs of mixed, frontier communities. The tenth-century Islamic jurist, al-Dawūdī, reported that, even at the time, legal disputes were occurring because the status of Sicily's population was unclear, as some claimed the Christians had converted to Islam while others held that they were under the protection of the Islamic community as Christian *ḍimmī*-s. The case of reported *muša'miḍūn* or 'bastardised Muslims' by Ibn Ḥawqal in the mid-tenth century with their blend of religious practices, mixed marriages and unintelligible speech clearly refers to a population in the midst of a slow socio-religious and linguistic transition. Although we are told that these constituted the majority in rural parts, evidence from this period is so scarce that little otherwise can be cited for their widespread existence. On the other hand, there is scant reliable evidence for *en masse* migrations of Christians to the Italian mainland during the same period.

Nonetheless, the likely impact of Arabic as the language of the conquerors and of their administration and religion was that it quickly became the primary *lingua franca* and the language of acculturation for both the old and new colony's settlers. Although large numbers of socially and linguistically diverse immigrants from across North Africa were attracted into Sicily, the nature of the colony was also consciously pro-Arab-Muslim and fiercely anti-Berber. Indeed, an important consideration in the initial invasion of the island was to have created a distraction from the simmering Arab-Berber tensions in Ifrīqiya. Thus, within single religion communities of Muslims, diverse Berber dialects could not have survived for long, unlike those of the Greek Christian communities whose identity, collective memory and consciousness were tightly bound up with the language of their liturgy. Hence, this may account for why there is ample evidence from tribal names to indicate settlement in Sicily from across North Africa, yet at the same time, hardly a trace of Berber dialect can be found on the island, either then or now.

Between the 1060s and 1090s, as the civil war, which had marked the end of the Islamic rule, led into a Christian reconquest, many of the Muslim social, religious and academic elite who could afford to leave, did so, and emigrated to Spain or North Africa, bringing about the swift and irreversible collapse of native Arab-Muslim intellectual activity in Sicily. However, the majority of Muslims appear to have remained more or less as they were. Under Christian rule, they were offered a type of indirect

government, with their religious and legal rights retained in return for a higher tax burden, since they paid the *ġizya*. The Muslim communities were thus locked into a mechanism that linked their religion and judicial practices to their fiscal status, with several important effects. First, as the conquered Muslims still formed the majority of the population, it would have been quite impractical to have imposed any more harsh terms that, for example, insisted on religious conversion. On the other hand, indirect rule was acceptable to the Muslims as it safeguarded their faith and customs, especially as it was implemented in a way that was thought fair enough for Muslims to grant under Islamic law to Christians and Jews when they were under their protection. That is to say, the *ġizya* may have been regarded by the Sicilian Muslims as less of an imposition that reduced them to servile status, than a concession granted on terms acceptable under the circumstances. Besides which, it allowed most of their remaining leaders who had negotiated the treaties in the first place to hold continued sway over their own communities. A consequence of this for the Christian ruling minority, unwitting or not, was that it was to preserve a vital sense of Muslim consciousness.

In eastern Sicily during the period of Christian conquest, many Muslims remained at least physically close to their Christian neighbours, as they had been for much of the Islamic period too. Clearly, they were divided on questions of religious practice, but in many other respects, there was somewhat less distance between them. From the early 1060s, Muslims from these areas had been the first to join the winning side of the Norman-led Christian forces in what they regarded as a civil war situation. On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that the Christians of the Val Demone were necessarily pro-Norman as the events at Troina show, where the Muslims actually fought alongside their local Christians neighbours to blockade the Norman soldiers inside the town show.

Those villeins in and around several villages near Patti whose names were probably recorded towards the end of the eleventh century, suggest that the Christians of this north-eastern area had, for generations, formed a heterogeneous ethnic group, and while most of them bore Greek names, others had religiously-neutral Arabic names or mixed Arabic-Greek names. Indeed, some of their names have survived as modern surnames and show clear signs of having passed from Arabic into Latin forms via the medium of Greek. The newly-found Christian ascendancy on the island quickly led to the revitalization and re-emergence of its indigenous Christian communities, whose churches (including those of the Greek rite) were sponsored by the new Norman leadership, and whose local administrative skills this same leadership utilized from time to time. Although the Eastern church in the kingdom recognized the primacy of the Pope at Rome, in the Latin sources the Christian community was still subdivisible into two groups according to their language and/or the

language of their liturgy. Thus, Latin sources tended to separate 'Latin' Catholic Christians from the 'Greeks' of the Eastern church on confessional/linguistic lines. As such, it was possible for the Latin sources to refer to the Christians as 'Greeks' even when some of them lived in amongst Arabic-speaking Muslim communities, and were likely to have been Arabic speakers or Arabic-Greek speakers themselves.

Within some 'Greek' Christian communities, the Christian victory appears to have caused a social realignment. For example, in the case of Christian villeins who lived around Collesano, for which we have data spanning three generations, it may be seen that there was a move away from the use of religiously-neutral Arabic names that they had formerly used, in favour of ones that had Greek origins. It is significant that for much of the twelfth century, this trend was back towards a more open and confident identification with their Greek Christian roots as opposed to adopting an entirely new 'Latin' identity of the incoming migrant settlers. The processes of Latin immigration and a rediscovered Greek Christian optimism, legitimized and sponsored by Christian rule generally, appears to have initiated a polarization of the Muslim communities in the east. Although, there is no evidence to suggest widespread religious conversion in the pre-*regnum* period, it is possible that some Muslims from these areas were assimilated into these Christian movements. However, evidence also suggests that many others may have abandoned their villages and presumably left for the denser areas of Muslim settlement in the south-west of the island.

The long processes of radical change towards Latinization which the Norman ruling elite and the Latin church had introduced and endorsed, also had effects on the wider population as the gathering numbers of Latin settlers began to hold an increasingly prestigious status. A clear indication of this is provided by the constitution of Patti where only 'men of the Latin tongue, whoever they might be' were allowed to settle in the town itself. Given that the Christians who lived in the satellite villages around Patti all had Greek or Arabic names, this early example unambiguously illustrates how language was used as a measure of identity and how Romance dialects had a prestige status over both Greek and Arabic.

Linked to the language and religion question is the extent to which Greek Christians had survived outside the Val Demone. If they had effectively ceased to exist as distinct religious communities under Muslim rule, then they were even less likely to be able to reproduce themselves linguistically, given their increasingly long exposure to the domineering influences of Arab-Muslim settlement around them. However, we know that at least some Christian administrators and churchmen had continued to live in Palermo and they may well have headed vestigial Christian communities there. In addition, Malaterra recorded that the Christians in western areas around Agrigento had flocked to help the Norman knights

during the conquest period. Besides which, we know that a century later, in parts of the rural south-western Val di Mazara, known to be the densest zone of Muslim settlement, some 19 per cent of the villeins there were Christian. This suggests that there had been continuous, and possibly quite significant, Christian settlement in the west of the island, even during the Islamic period. Of the Christian villeins there, none appears to have been 'Latin'. Indeed, many had continued to use Greek names (some of which were Arabicized versions), while most used Arabic names, including some who even had traditionally Islamic names. For those involved in house sales in Palermo of the late twelfth century, religiously-neutral names of mixed Arabic-Greek origin were quite common. These observations may be combined with an important eye-witness account of Ibn Ġubayr's in the mid-1180s in which he specifically drew attention to the fluent Arabic speech and 'oriental'-style clothing of women entering a Greek Christian church in Palermo. Thus, it is argued that while our inability to distinguish Arabic-speaking Christians from 'Greeks' and Muslims is a serious impediment to our understanding of the changes to the social, demographic and religious base of the island, it is also good evidence for the social and linguistic proximity of these communities.

Nonetheless, divisions between some of the island's religious communities may have aroused suspicion and hostility, making acceptance of Muslim converts into an increasingly Latinized Christian society all the more difficult. There was, however, an imaginative solution for Muslims which did not involve outright and open conversion from Islam to Christianity. That is to say, there was the option of either feigning conversion or of making a social realignment that was sufficient to smudge the defining margins of one's identity and thus benefit from the protection that might offer. This complex and arcane process, for which there is a surprisingly large body of evidence, was facilitated and legitimized by two factors. First, the historic proximity of Sicilian Muslims to the indigenous Christians that had developed over 300 years of assimilation, acculturation and coexistence meant that it was relatively easy for Muslims to slip into the guise of Arabic-speaking Christians. Second, some who were conspicuous among the Muslim leadership are widely attested to have concealed their religious identity through nominal conversion. Such a practice, common if not universal among the 'palace Saracens' for example, is known to Islamic jurists as *taqiya*. Similar behaviour by some within the higher echelons of Muslim society may have contributed to the idea that religious ambiguity was an acceptable response to the problem of how to live under infidel Christian rule. Evidence for the ease of possible Sicilian Muslim-Christian assimilation is shown by the proximity of the Muslims to their indigenous Christian neighbours, combined with specific evidence that some Muslims were passing themselves off as Christians. Thus, Muslims fleeing the 1161 riots in Palermo are attested as having disguised themselves

as Christians. But if converts among the Muslim elite were happy to compromise their religious commitment, or others, such as the 'palace Saracens' to impersonate Arab-Christians, there were many who were not. Thus, it is argued that these processes radicalized the extremes of an already indistinct social spectrum within most of the Arabic-speaking communities, whose fragile, old barriers had long since begun to break down, with Christians and converts at one end and a hard core of increasingly disaffected Muslims at the other, but with most of the Muslim population caught, and then stretched, between the two.

As far as the wider language question is concerned, a strong case can be made that sufficient socio-historical conditions were in place to have facilitated various degrees of Arabic-Greek bilingualism for many communities in the Islamic and Norman periods, and a shorter period of Arabic-Latin bilingualism for some in the later Norman and Swabian periods. We certainly know of many key characters within the ruling elite, including the kings themselves, as well as sailors, Sicilian Jews, some religious clerics and many among the anonymous scribal classes, who were bilingual. In addition, linguistic evidence from loan words and interferences suggests that bilingualism of varying types according to time and area could not have been anything other than quite unremarkable for much of the population. During these same periods, maintenance of long-term bilingualism was much more likely to have occurred in areas where there were also two religious communities that were not necessarily hostile to one another. Arabic-Greek bilingualism was thus likely to have been most prevalent where there were 'Greek' Christians, with the relative strengths of their languages being contingent on the differing strengths of a particular speaker's background culture. Outside the Val Demone, Christian communities were increasingly unlikely to have been able to maintain this language-religion identity due to their numerical inferiority as they had submerged somewhat over a long period of time into the background culture of their Arabic-speaking Muslim neighbours with whom Arabic was the *lingua franca*. Although many Christians had succumbed to Arabicization under Muslim rule, many had clearly resisted Islamicization, as the presence of Arabic-speaking Christians in the Norman period shows.

Those among the Muslim communities whose power and influence underpinned their 'indirect' rule would come under increasing pressure in and after the 1160s to convert to Christianity. The intention of this was presumably to undermine further the already much-depleted leadership and fabric of the Muslim communities. Evidence suggests that this occurred largely after the death of Roger II, with the temptation of economic reward as bait (or conversely, the threat of economic ruin). Leading Muslims, especially those among the politically active, such as Abū l-Qāsim and the 'palace Saracens', found themselves in the awkward position of cooperating with the fiscal administration in the collection of the taxes levied

communally on the Muslims. Such collaboration by some Muslims contrasts sharply with the response of others such as the Quranic teachers of Palermo, who are attested as having stepped outside the tax-for-protection mechanism of Christian rule and as a result had no security for themselves or their possessions.

Thus, while the division of the kingdom along confessional lines served as an obstacle to outright conversion (evidently a rather un-Sicilian solution anyway), an extended period of acculturation appears to have blurred some of the socio-religious distinctions between indigenous groups. However, in other respects it served to exacerbate the Muslim-Christian fault line within Sicily. By the death of William II in 1189, many of the Muslims, who had become concentrated in the relative safety offered by the south-western parts of the island, were prepared to rebel openly. This religious divide had long since been identified as a weak point in the kingdom's society and increasingly open to political exploitation and antagonism, as large numbers of Latin Christian settlers, merchants, churchmen and aristocratic families from outside Sicily could, by this time, wield their power more freely at the expense of the dwindling Muslim communities and their reduced political influence around the court and royal palaces.

Under the influence of the trilingual *amīr* of *amīrs*, George of Antioch, whose vast experience included employment with the Byzantines and Zirids, there can be no doubt that the kingship of Roger II was carefully crafted, as the sustained and purposeful attempts to present the newly-united kingdom in a particular light show. Palace inscriptions from this time were sometimes trilingual and rites in the royal chapel also appear to have been held in Latin, Greek and Arabic. These too were the languages of the scribes who worked towards the reconstruction of the central administration. Along with the adoption of royal epithets, inscriptions, formulae, costumes and palace protocol, the piecemeal administrative reforms of the 1140s appeared to have been inspired by models used in contemporary Fatimid Cairo. The introduction of this was only in part a practical measure, but also presented the kings as the successors to an Arab-Islamic inheritance while, as conquerors of Muslim lands, they could also introduce themselves as the defenders of Christianity in the southern Mediterranean. It is hard to overstate the influence of George of Antioch in the establishment of the kingdom, and indeed, it is not inconceivable that his relationship with Roger II mirrored that of the Fatimid caliph to his *wazīr*. That is to say, while the caliph was merely a puppet and a figurehead, the *wazīr* conducted the empire's affairs and effectively held all the executive power. However, it is far from clear how to interpret apparent attempts to balance the cultural forces within the kingdom, especially as it is extremely difficult to separate propagandist elements from changing political substance.

Certainly, the rise of Latin forces around the king from the mid-1150s, but particularly from the 1160s, appears to have been contemporary with



the decline in Muslim and Greek political power. Thus, Ibn al-Aṭīr commented, with the benefit of hindsight, on Philip of Mahdiyya, one of the ‘palace Saracens’ in 1153, that his death was ‘the first blow dealt to the Muslims’ and that Roger II had ‘kept the Franks from them’. Increasingly, political attacks by the ‘Latin’ contingents on the ‘palace Saracens’, upon whom the king was heavily reliant to manage the administration, or physical attacks on the wider Muslim community, was a way of indirectly undermining the king and thus was a way of de-stabilizing the kingship. Indeed, by the late 1160s, the *familiares regis* (by now almost all men of ‘Latin’ background), had successfully interposed themselves between the king, his administration and his ‘palace Saracens’. For a brief period during the mid-1160s, ‘Frankish’ dialects appear to have been unrivalled as the prestige language at court, but presumably suffered after the expulsion of Stephen of Perche’s contingent in 1168. However, powerful ‘Latin’-speaking elements remained at court, in the administration and church.

Against this background, Greek was unable to maintain its same prestige position as a language of the ruling elite after its limited revival under George of Antioch in the first half of the twelfth century. The start of its long decline as a royal language appears to have coincided with his death and that of Roger II’s a few years later. Certainly, by around 1180, Latin and Arabic appear to have emerged as the preferred royal and administrative languages. Of ‘Greek’ influences around the palaces, it is hard to think of any administrator whose knowledge of Greek was not accompanied by another language. Some of the more high-profile characters such as George of Antioch and Eugene the *amīr*, were both at least Greek-Arabic bilinguals. Indeed, earlier administrators about whom we know considerably less, such as Christodoulos, otherwise known as ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Naṣrānī, may have been bilingual too. Those we presume were ‘Latins’, but who also knew Greek, such as Henry Aristippus, were exceptional and his interest in the language appears to have been largely inspired by academic concerns to recover ancient knowledge via translation. At a much lower level, it is quite clear from the number and type of translations into Greek from Arabic which were made at an administrative level, that the royal administration had always employed a number of bilingual Greek-Arabic scribes. While there is only circumstantial evidence to suggest that any of the Sicilian kings knew Greek, all three are attested as being able to speak, read or write Arabic. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that some form of Latinate dialect must, on many occasions, have been their preferred medium of communication, particularly with the *familiares regis*, the ‘Latin’ elements at court, as well as their wives and mothers.

Establishing the language situation within the royal palaces and the ruling elite has been, and largely remains, difficult as the role of Arabic and Arabic speakers was not only complex and varied, but was also subject to change with time. In addition, the extant evidence is somewhat patchy.

Nonetheless, a survey of the key figures around kings and palaces reveals the constant presence of high-ranking Arabic-speaking officials, particularly associated with the fiscal administration. Even in the conquest period and time of Adelaide's regency, the supervision of embryonic administrative posts appears to have been under the control of Arabic speakers, some of whom were Muslims. Yet, apart from the 'palace Saracens' and other administrative and ancillary staff, it is unlikely that Arabic was used as the main communicative medium among the wider ruling elite at court. Indeed, within the ruling elite generally and over the course of the century, there was probably even more linguistic variety to be found than in the whole of the rest of the kingdom. However, circumstantial evidence suggests that Arabic was not likely to have been understood by any but a small minority of the immigrant aristocracy coming from the Italian peninsula and areas now covered by modern France.

For its part, the royal administration issued documents in all three of Sicily's written languages – Arabic, Latin and Greek. The conventional wisdom is that the loan words between Arabic and Latin found in the bilingual registers of royally-conceded lands and men attest to the influence that these languages were having on one another. The premises of the language argument are relatively easy to state since loan words and interferences from one language to another could not have occurred without their being an accompanying linguistic and social interchange between different language groups. However, it is argued that not all these forms were representative of vernacular speech, particularly those that occurred in Latin. In this respect, the longest and most important of these charters is the enormous boundary definition of fifty estates conceded from the royal demesne to the newly-founded church of S. Maria Nuova in Monreale. A rough scheme of translation and transliteration can be seen to have been applied to transform the Arabic text to a Latin one and this played an instrumental role in the coining of new vocabulary via the use of transliteration. But as was common with Latin scribes, they also had a habit of translating place-names. Thus, transferring the Arabic output of the fiscal administration into Latin did not necessarily make bureaucratic life any more practical, and contributed to a considerable amount of subsequent confusion as landlords in the later Middle Ages came to rely on documents that had been translated into Latin from the original Arabic. The Greek scribes, on the other hand, tended towards transliteration schemes and thus retained at least something that approximated to the terms used by the people who had originally helped to define the boundaries.

Overall, it is argued that the process of transliteration of Arabic, Greek and Latin terms contributed to the development of an interchangeable trilingual administrative vocabulary, and it is suggested that this had itself grown to meet the increasing need to produce accurately transcribed

versions between the island's three administrative languages. This bureaucratic practice may actually have been responsible for the coining, transmission and diffusion of some Arabic loan words, particularly into Latin. This, in turn, affects the status of such terms as genuine 'dialect' words. While it is quite probable that some loan words were in use in certain quarters, others can be inferred to have been purely fictitious or not used outside the royal *dīwān*. As such, it is argued that this peculiar administrative genre has had a distorting effect on the evidence for vernacular speech.

On the other hand, the Arabic-Greek bilingual charters suggest a quite different reading of the evidence. Arabic-Greek registers are of unique interest because of the ways in which thousands of villeins' names were recorded in Arabic and then transcribed into Greek. Quite clearly, such a relationship begs a number of fundamental questions, not least of which concern the ways in which chancery scribes came to produce such bilingual registers. In this respect, details of their composition and types of manuscript error highlight a number of methods used in the construction and copying of the deeds from Arabic to Greek. The written, and presumably the spoken Arabic and Greek of at least some people, if not many, on the island showed unambiguous signs of lexical and phonological interference. Although Latin documents also show these signs, there is a crucial difference between the two. In Arabic and Greek documents, loan words, types of interference and the ways in which they appear were more consistently applied over a much longer period, and the levels and types of interference between Sicilian Arabic and Sicilian Greek are consistent with the types of settlement and high degree of socio-religious interaction and linguistic acculturation that took place over almost 400 years, from the mid-ninth to the mid-thirteenth century. These new findings can be combined with the large corpus of Arabic loan words that have subsequently appeared in Greek, Latin and Sicilian dialects, collected over the years by Pellegrini, Caracausi, De Simone and Agius amongst others, whose linguistic data was not accompanied by a socio-historical setting that has been given here, but whose evidence can be interpreted to bear out the same conclusions.

It is also argued that certain varieties of Sicilian Arabic, which were all based on broadly Mağribī types, are thus likely to have been characterized by influences from Sicilian Greek forms, with reference to both loan words, *calques* and phonology. Correspondingly, the effect of Arabic on Sicilian Greek is also likely to have been profound. In contrast, the impact of Romance on Sicilian Arabic is likely to have been somewhat limited. This was due primarily to the much shorter exposure time that the two had had, but also to the acculturation process during the Norman period which had been quite different, and there is little evidence for widespread or peaceful Muslim and 'Latin' coexistence. On the contrary, these groups were often

openly hostile towards one another and, by and large, appear to have kept themselves apart.

It can be suggested though, that during the Muslim revolts from 1189–1246, if not before, pressure for the island's Arabic-speaking Christians to adopt the less ambiguous and more prestigious manners and speech of the Latin Christians could only have increased. This in turn may have given rise to, or further encouraged, degrees of Arabic-Latin bilingualism that are likely to have persisted into the thirteenth century within certain Christian communities, perhaps especially in those located further towards the west which had fewer Italo-Greek roots to rediscover and with which they could identify. The influence of Sicilian Arabic on the island's Romance dialects and hence later Sicilian dialects is well-known from the very large number of Latin documents that have survived in which traces are first found, and indeed the same influence has formed a characteristic substrata of modern dialects on the island. However, it might also be noted that Arabic influence in modern Sicilian comes largely from loan words and does not appear to have affected the vernacular in more profound ways, such as in the grammar. Indeed, however modern Sicilian dialects are described, we cannot say that they are not Romance-based in essence, unlike developments in the linguistic evolution of the neighbouring island of Malta.

In social, political and religious terms, the Arabic-speaking communities can be subdivided into a number of contiguous, or overlapping, groupings. Whatever their differences, they were necessarily connected by a shared knowledge of Arabic. As such, this links several otherwise quite disparate socio-religious groups and therefore highlights the importance of Arabic as a communicative medium for much of the island's population. It also shows how knowledge of Arabic had the potential to act as a cohesive social force while at the same time highlighting the gulf that must sometimes have existed between many of the Arabic-speaking communities and predominantly monolingual, incoming 'Latins'.

Finally, with regard to the derivation of phonetic correspondences between the two languages, it is not always clear whether the Greek scribe was transliterating the Arabic (i.e. making a letter for letter copy) or transcribing it (i.e. making a copy made with reference to the *sound* of the Arabic). Thus, contrary to previous hopes, it may not be a reliable procedure to assign phonetic values to the Arabic from its inferred relationship with the Greek because we cannot be sure whether that relationship was a phonetic one or was purely graphemic. In spite of a some limiting reservations about the status of this evidence, the study of these extraordinary documents is still in its infancy, and we now have a clearer idea of the problems involved and how future research might progress.

From a certain perspective, the fate of the Sicilian Muslim communities was clear-cut in that they were eventually deported to the colony of Lucera

on the Italian mainland in the mid-thirteenth century, following the breakdown of their restrained loyalty to the Hauteville line proper, and the subsequent failure of a series of revolts which first broke out on the death of William II in 1189.<sup>3</sup> The uprisings had not been without their successes, particularly under the leadership of a certain Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abbād who even had coins minted in his name, with the rebels taking Corleone in 1208 and the Bishop of the Agrigento hostage in 1221.<sup>4</sup> In August of the following year, Frederick II laid siege to the stronghold of Iato, at which he would appear annually until 1224 in an attempt to regain firmer control over the Val di Mazara, while a daughter of Ibn ‘Abbād’s took charge of Muslim contingents around Entella after the death of her father.<sup>5</sup> Around 1229–30, the towns of Iato, Entella, Cinisi and Gallo were again under siege, and by 1243 the island’s remaining Muslims in the south-west were in open revolt for the last time. Their successes in retaking Iato and Entella were swiftly negated by a final suppression of the rebels and their removal to Lucera in 1245–6, leaving the western interior abandoned and depopulated.<sup>6</sup>

The Muslim–Christian divide was only one of several, potentially fatal, lines of fracture within the ‘Norman’ kingdom, the inherent weaknesses of which had become increasingly apparent after the deaths of George of Antioch and Roger II in 1151 and 1153 respectively, culminating in the succession struggle following the premature death of William II. The Muslims had not caused that crisis, and contributed little to its solution; however, they were ultimately to be the victims of it at the hands of Frederick II, although it is debatable whether the Muslims would have rebelled had William II lived another twenty years and successfully groomed an heir to the throne.

Overall, the three main causes of change to the sociolinguistic and religious base of the island, namely demographic movements, assimilation and acculturation, and finally the suppression of the Muslim revolts, has left modern observers with only faint traces of Arab-Muslim culture that had been a characteristic feature of the island from 827–1246. Even in the latter half of the thirteenth century, remnants of Arabic-speaking culture outside the ever-resilient Jewish communities are barely visible, and those of specifically Islamic culture appear to have been almost entirely obliterated, bar the presence of merchants and slaves. Indeed, no Muslim cemeteries have survived until the modern period and the final tomb inscription composed in Arabic dates from December 1275, although it is not clear whether the burial itself was actually in Sicily.<sup>7</sup> The final product in Arabic from Frederick II’s chancery was the exceptional Latin-Arabic ‘Fallamonaca’ register of 1242, in which, as we have seen, the Arabic was a translation of the Latin.<sup>8</sup> The last Arabic signature in a public act is dated to January 1265, although we might note the signature of Baldwin Mussonus who signed his name in Arabic in 1282, being presumably a Christian who knew at least some Arabic.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, while a number of Sicilian surnames derived from Arabic appear to attest to the survival of families from Arabic-speaking Christian or Jewish backgrounds, or indeed, of those who may once have been Muslim, it is also possible that at least some of these were transferred with later immigrants from Spain. Similarly, later Sicilian dialects are distinguished from others in Italy by their use of loan words from Arabic. Although this implies the survival of Arabic speakers beyond the deportation of the Muslims (even though some of the borrowed vocabulary was current in Romance-based dialects before the mid-thirteenth century), Arabic-speaking Jewish communities are well-known to have continued until the end of the fifteenth century. The Jewish communities tenaciously maintained their bilingualism, transmitting their religious identity through the medium of Judeo-Arabic, or Arabic written in Hebrew letters. Indeed, similar practices have endured in the Mediterranean and Middle East among minority groups, and indeed find a parallel with the Sicilian Greeks of the fifteenth century who wrote Sicilian dialect in Greek letters.

Whether many Christians could have continued to use Arabic as their first language much after 1300 is doubtful, and the lack of evidence in this case perhaps points to a prior and rapid decline by acculturation, as the prestigious Latinate dialects of the church, ruling elite, and non-Muslim immigrant communities predominated. Indeed, what is remarkable about the history of Sicily after the Norman period, is how effectively effaced the impact of four centuries of Arabic-speaking and/or Islamic culture has been, due to the re-Christianization and re-Latinization of the island. This is all the more remarkable given the enormous contribution of Arab-Islamic influences to Sicily as a leading power in Europe and the Mediterranean at the height of the high Middle Ages. By 1300, the island had been well and truly readmitted to 'Latin'-speaking Europe, but would find itself increasingly on the peripheries of Christendom, having lost its place as a central player in the Mediterranean world as it had been in the twelfth century under the so-called 'Norman' kings of Sicily.

# Appendix A

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 'Ayn 'Īsā (Bū N.fāt) > *fons hayse*  
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     *magnus*  
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     Šantaġnī) > *fons magnus qui vocatur*  
     *fons sanctagni*  
 'Ayn al-Karāfs wa-tusmī bi-'Ayn al-Mintina  
     (Ḥaġar al-Zanātī) > *fons apīi qui*  
     *etiam vocatur fons fetidus*  
 'Ayn Khabīṭ (Manzil 'Abdallāh) > *fons*  
     *Kabīth*  
 'Ayn al-Khurūq (al-Randa) > *fons*  
     *panorum*  
 'Ayn al-Khurūq (al-Randa) > *fons uruc*

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- ‘Ayn Kudyat Bātrū (Mağnūğa) > *fons monticuli petri*  
‘Ayn Kundur (Q.rub.n.š) > *fons kcundur*  
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al-‘Ayn al-Mintina (Sūm.nī) > *fons fetidus*  
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‘Ayn al-Nusūr (Ġ.ṭīna) > *fons vulturum*  
‘Ayn al-Šamār (Battallaro) > *fons simar*  
‘Ayn al-Šaḥīm (Corleone- magna divisa) > *fons Sahān*  
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‘Ayn al-Tuffāḥa (Battallaro) > *fons pomerii*  
‘Ayn al-Z.b.r (Raḥl B.ğānū) > *flumen zabar*  
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‘Ayn al-Zufayzafa (Corleone- magna divisa) > *fons zufe zefe*  
‘Ayn al-Zarqa (Mārtū) > *fons zarca*  
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‘Azāz, see Marḥalat ‘Azāz  
‘Ulāb.qū (Ġurf Bū Karīm) > *alebaccu*  
‘Ulāb.qū (Manzil ‘Abd al-Raḥmān) > *alebaccu*  
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‘Uqāba, see ribā‘ Ibn ‘Uqāba  
‘uqdat al-kb.nzīr (Fuṭāšina) > *densitudinem porcorum*  
‘Uyūn ‘Ayyāš (Corleone- magna divisa) > *fons hayes*  
‘Uyūn al-Iğrāk (Corleone- magna divisa) > *fons rupium*  
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abdella, *terra filiorum*, see rab‘ awlād ‘Abdallāh  
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abdelluebet, *planicies*, see Walağat ‘Abd al-Wāḥid  
Abū Kināna (Hağar al-Zanātī) > *buckinene*  
*ad septemtrionalem partem*, see al-baḥrī  
Ađriyūs (Iato- magna divisa) > *adrius*  
Ađriyūs (Mārtū) > *adrius*  
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Adriano, see Driyāna  
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*abl al-Aqbāt* (Malbīt) > *homines lacbat*  
*abl B.r.tnīq* (Mārtū) > *homines partenici*  
*abl al-B.rmānīn* (Manzil Zarqūn) > *homines permenini*  
*abl Malbīt* (Malbīt) > *homines malviti*  
*abl Qurulūn* (bayn Raḥl Marāwis wa-bayn Bū Kināna) > *homines corilionis*  
*abl Qurulūn* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *homines corilionis*  
*abl Qurulūn* (Malbīt) > *homines corilionis*  
*abl Šantağnī* (Usbiṭāl Šantağnī) > *hospitalis*  
*al-aḥmar*, see al-ğabal al-kabīr al-aḥmar  
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*atarseneti*, see Ḥağar al-Zanātī  
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*alba, petra*, see al-ḥağār al-biḏā  
*albesi, fons*, see ‘Ayn ‘Abbās  
*albos, lapides*, see al-ḥiğār al-biḏ  
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*altera benhamsa*, see Ḥārik Ibn Ḥamza  
*altera Gadyr seuden*, see al-šaraf Ġadīr al-Sūdān  
*altera latronum*, see Kudyat al-Sallāba  
*altera nemoris magni*, see Šaraf al-Ša‘rā l-Kabīra  
*altera rubbet*, see Kudyat al-Raml  
*altera sinu mons*, see al-sidra  
*altera*, see al-rubwa  
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Ambrun, *porta dardar*, see Bāb Dardār ‘Amrūn  
Amrun, *casale*, see Raḥl ‘Amrūn  
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- And.rīya*, see *maṭḥanat And.rīya*  
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*al-andar* (Raḥl al-Ġalīz) > *area*  
*al-andar* (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *area*  
*andar Bū Z.kra* (Raḥl ‘Amrūn) > *area*  
*buzucra*  
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*andar Husayn bin al-Qar’a* (Corleone-  
magna divisa) > *area benKaraha*  
*andar Ibn Ḥilya* (Corleone- magna divisa)  
> *area benhuleye*  
*andar Yānī* (al-B.lwīn) > *area iohannis*  
*andree, molendinum*, see *maṭḥanat*  
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*al-Ank.rāt* (Malbīt) > *hancarar*  
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*Anṭalla* (Battallaro) > *Hantalla, Antella*  
*Anṭalla*, see also *Wādī Anṭalla*  
*apīi, fons/fons fetidus*, see ‘*Ayn al-Karāfs*  
*wa-tusmī bi-‘Ayn al-Mintina*  
*apium, petrae*, see *Ḥiġār al-Naḥl*  
*al-Aqbāt* (al-Aqbāt) > *lacbat*  
*al-Aqbāt* (Malbīt) > *lacbat*  
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*al-Arāk*, see *Haġar al-Arāk*  
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*dukkār qīdam*  
*arbores ficulneeficulneas*, see *ašġār al-tīn*  
*arbores sabuci*, see *ašġār sābūq*  
*arbores*, see *ašġār*  
*arbustorum, arbustis*, see *al-khulūf*  
*arbustus*, see *š.ṭ.b*  
*al-arḍ al-ṣafra* (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *terra*  
*citrina*  
*area benhuleye*, see *Andar Ibn Ḥilya*  
*area benKaraha*, see *Andar Husayn bin al-*  
*Qar’a*  
*area buzucra*, see *andar Bū Z.kra*  
*area iohannis*, see *andar Yānī*  
*area textoris*, see *Andar al-Ḥarīrī*  
*area*, see *al-andar*  
*areae*, see *al-anādīr*  
*arietis, cauda*, see *Ḍanab al-Kabš*  
*al-Armal*, see *Marḥalat Ibn al-Armal*  
*Arnū*, see *Ra’s Arnū*  
*aṣl Ibn Ġarrāḥ* (Malbīt) > *radix bengarrak*  
*ases, mandra*, see *Marḥalat ‘Azāz*  
*ašġār* (Usbitāl Šantaġnī) > *arbores*  
*ašġār dukkār qīdam* (Usbitāl Šantaġnī) >  
*arbores caprificus veteres*  
*ašġār ġuġġūw* (Manzil K.r.š.nī) > *lapides*  
*(sic) luLu*  
*ašġār ġuġġūw*, see also *Wādī Ašġār Ġuġġūw*  
*ašġār sābūq* (al-Duqqī) > *arbores sabuci*  
*ašġār al-tīn* (Battallaro) > *arbores ficulnee,*  
*arbores ficulneas*  
*al-Ašġār*, see ‘*Ayn al-Ašġār*  
*al-Ašq.f* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *bufureram (sic)*  
*al-Aswad*, see *Ġār al-Aswad*  
*al-Aṭyān*, see ‘*Ayn al-Aṭyān*  
*al-Aṭyān*, see ‘*Ayn al-Aṭyān*  
*auwal al-ḥadd* (Haġar al-Zanāti) > *incipit*  
*auwal al-ḥadd* (Ġāliṣu) > *principium*  
*divisae*  
*ayn elgelakan*, see ‘*Ayn Ġalāq.n*  
*Azes, mandra*, see *Marḥalat ‘Azāz*  
*al-B.ġ.r.dī* (bayn Raḥl Marāwis wa-bayn  
Bū Kināna) > *beiardī*  
*B.līġ*, see *Raḥl B.līġ*  
*B.lmīġ*, see *Raḥl B.lmīġ*  
*B.ln.bū*, see *Khandaq B.ln.bū*  
*al-B.lwīn* (al-B.lwīn) > *beluinum, beluyin*  
& *beluynum*  
*al-B.lwīn* (al-Maġāġī) > *beluini*  
*al-B.lwīn* (al-Q.mīt) > *beluinum*  
*al-B.lwīn*, see also *Khandaq al-B.lwīn*  
*B.r.q.lūs* (Malbīt) > *proculus*  
*B.r.zū* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *perisio*  
*B.riyāqa* (Corleone- magna divisa) >  
*briaca*  
*B.riyāqa al-Qadīma* (Corleone- magna  
divisa) > *veteris briace*  
*B.riyāqa al-Qadīma*, see also *darġat*  
*B.riyāqa al-Qadīma*  
*B.riyāqa*, see *Kudyat Ḥaddādīn B.riyāqa*  
*al-B.rmānīn* (Iato- magna divisa) >  
*permenin*  
*al-B.rmānīn* (Manzil Zarqūn) >  
*permeninum*  
*B.rṭ.nīq* (Iato- magna divisa) > *partenici*  
*B.rṭ.nīq* >  
*al-B.trā*, see *Khandaq al-B.trā*  
*al-B.yāz.ra*, see *Bāb al-B.yāz.ra*  
*al-bāb* (Battallaro) > *porta*  
*al-bāb* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *porta*  
*al-bāb* (Ġāliṣu) > *porta*  
*al-bāb* (Raḥl al-Būqāl) > *porta*

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- Bāb al-B.yāz.ra* (al-Aqbāt) > *porta biezere*  
*Bāb bin Qays* (Raḥl Bū Frīra) > *porta benkays*  
*Bāb al-Bīr* (Iato- magna divisa) > *porta putei*  
*Bāb Bīr al-Šārif* (al-Duqqī) > *porta putei elseref*  
*Bāb Bū Šant Bātrū* (Ġālišu) > *porta sancti petri*  
*Bāb Dardār ‘Amrūn* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *porta dardār Ambrun*  
*Bāb al-Drīyūs* (bayn Raḥl Marāwis wa-bayn Bū Kināna) > *porta adrius*  
*Bāb al-Dukkāra* (Battallaro) > *porta caprificus*  
*Bāb Ġār Ibn Zaydān* (Ḥaġar al-Zanātī) > *porta Gar filiū zedum*  
*Bāb al-Riḥ* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *porta venti*  
*Bāb Šurb al-Laban*, see *Ḥaġar Bāb Šurb al-Laban*  
*babia*, see *al-Bābiya*  
*al-Bābiya* (Iato- magna divisa) > *babia*  
*backie, spelunca*, see *Ġār Baqqa*  
*bahagar, puteus*, see *Bīr Bū Ḥaġar al-baḥrī* (Raḥl al-Būqāl) > *ad septemtrionalem partem*  
*Baḥrī*, see *Raḥl Baḥrī*  
*al-Balāt* (Ḥaġar al-Zanātī) > *balate*  
*Balāt Ġannām* (Raḥl B.ġānū) > *balata ganemi*  
*Balāt Istūl.s* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *balata stiles*  
*al-Balāt*, see *Khandaq al-Balāt*  
*al-Balāt*, see *Raḥl al-Balāt*  
*al-balāṭa* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *balata*  
*balata ganemi*, see *Balāt Ġannām*  
*balata stiles*, see *Balāt Istūl.s*  
*balata*, see *al-balāṭa*  
*balate, casale*, see *Raḥl al-Balāt*  
*balate*, see *al-Balāt*  
*balate, vallones*, see *Khandaq al-Balāt*  
*ballot, mons*, see *Hārik al-Ballūt*  
*ballot, terterum*, see *Hārik al-Ballūt*  
*ballota, terterum*, see *Hārik al-Ballūta*  
*al-Ballūt*, see *Hārik al-Ballūt*  
*al-Ballūta*, see *Hārik al-Ballūta*  
*balneatoris, puteus*, see *Bīr al-Ḥammāmī*  
*Balneo*, see *al-Ḥammām*  
*Balneum Hantella*, see *Ḥammām Anṭalla*  
*Baqqa*, see *Ġār Baqqa*  
*barcoc, flumen*, see *Wādī Barqūq al-Bārid*, see *Masġid al-Bārid*  
*al-Bārid*, see *Wādī l-Bārid*  
*al-Bārida*, see *‘Ayn al-Bārida*  
*barilis, lapis*, see *Ḥaġar al-Barmīlī*  
*al-Barmīlī*, see *Ḥaġar al-Barmīlī*  
*Barqūq*, see *Wādī Barqūq*  
*baṭn* (Raḥl al-Būqāl) > *alveum*  
*Baṭṭallārū* (Battallaro) > *Bat(t)e/alaro*  
*Bātrū*, see *al-k.nīsyā Bātrū*, *Bāb Bū Šant Bātrū & Kudyat Bātrū*  
*Bāyān D.Ġr.ġ*, see *Raḥl Bāyān D.Ġr.ġ*  
*al-Bayḍ*, see *Dimnat al-Bayḍ*  
*beiardī*, see *al-B.ġ.r.dī*  
*belmuhusen, flumen*, see *Wādī Ibn Muḥsin*  
*beluini*, see *al-B.lwīn*  
*beluinum*, see *al-B.lwīn*  
*beluyn*, see *al-B.lwīn*  
*beluynum*, see *al-B.lwīn*  
*benarauzi, mons*, see *al-ġabal al-ma‘rūf bi-al-Ġ.r.n.zī*  
*Benbark, casale*, see *Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka*  
*bendicken, silva*, see *al-ša‘rā m.tā‘ Ibn Dukn*  
*benfurire (sic)*, see *Bū Frīra*  
*bengarrak, radix*, see *aṣl Ibn Ġarrāḥ*  
*benhamsa, altera*, see *Hārik Ibn Ḥamza*  
*benhamse, terterum*, see *Hārik bin Ḥamza*  
*benhamut, flumen*, see *Wādī bin Hammūd*  
*benhamut, vinea*, see *Ġinān bin Hammūd*  
*benhuKcabe, terra*, see *ribā‘ Ibn ‘Uqāba*  
*benhuleye, area*, see *Andar Ibn Hilya*  
*beniabar, mandra*, see *Marḥalat bin Ġabr*  
*beniarrak*, see *Ibn Ġarrāḥ*  
*benkage, foveam*, see *ḥufrat Ibn Raġā*  
*benKaraha, area*, see *Andar Ḥusayn bin al-Qar‘a*  
*benkays, porta*, see *Bāb bin Qays*  
*benmuchsēn, flumen*, see *Wādī Ibn Muḥsin*  
*benmuksen, flumen*, see *Wādī Ibn Muḥsin*  
*benrabaun, mons*, see *Ġabal Ibn Rub‘ūn*  
*bensebbib, vallones*, see *Khandaq Bin Šabīb*  
*bensehel, casale*, see *Raḥl Ibn Saḥl*  
*bensyel, casale*, see *Raḥl Ibn Saḥl*  
*benzurra, flumen*, see *Wādī Ibn Z.rra*  
*berdi, mesita*, see *Masġid al-Bārid*  
*bibentis lac, hagar*, see *Ḥaġar Bāb Šurb al-Laban*  
*biccarum*, see *Bīqū*  
*Bicheni, Divisa*, see *Hadd Raḥl B.ġānū*  
*al-bīd*, see *al-ḥiġār al-bīd*

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- al-Bīdā*, see *al-Kudya al-Bīdā*  
*biezere, porta*, see *Bāb al-B.yāz.ra*  
*billienem, petra*, see *Hağar Ibn Liyāna*  
*bin al-Aḥsan*, see *Khandaq bin al-Aḥsan*  
*bin Hammūd*, see *Ġinān bin Hammūd*  
*bin Hammūd*, see *Wādī bin Hammūd*  
*bin Ġabr*, see *Marḥalat bin Ġabr*  
*bin Kināna*, see *Ġinān bin Kināna*  
*Bin Qallāla*, see *Kudyat Bin Qallāla*  
*bin al-Qar'a*, see *Andar Ḥusayn bin al-*  
*Qar'a*  
*bin Qays*, see *Bāb bin Qays*  
*Bin Sabīb*, see *Khandaq Bin Šabīb*  
*bin al-Z.būğī*, see *'Ayn bin al-Z.būğī*  
*Bīqū (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > biccarum*  
*al-Bīr (al-Duqqī) > puteus*  
*al-Bīr (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > puteus*  
*Bīr Bū Hağar (Battallaro) > puteus*  
*bahagar*  
*Bīr al-Hammāmī (Raḥl 'Amrūn) > puteus*  
*balneatoris*  
*Bīr al-Hināš*, see *Hārik Bīr al-Hināš*  
*Bīr Ibn 'Atīq (Calatrasi) > puteus Beneatik*  
*Bīr Ibn 'Atīq (Calatrasi) > puteus filii eatik*  
*Bīr Ibn Yūsuf (Raḥl al-Ġalīz) > puteus filii*  
*ioseph*  
*Bīr al-Šarīf*, see *Bāb Bīr al-Šarīf*  
*Bīr al-Zuqāq (Fuṭāšina) > puteus zucaki*  
*al-Bīr*, see also *Bāb al-Bīr*  
*al-Birdawn*, see *'Ayn al-Birdawn*  
*briaca*, see *B.rīyāqa*  
*briace, veteris*, see *B.rīyāqa al-Qadīma*  
*Bū 'Afw*, see *Ġār Bū 'Afw*  
*Bū 'Ağīna*, see *rab' Bū 'Ağīna*  
*Bū F.rīra (al-B.lwīn) > benfurire (sic)*  
*Bū Ḥabba (Ġ.ṭīna) > buchaben*  
*Bū Hağar*, see *Bīr Bū Hağar*  
*Bū Ġ.rāğ*, see *Ġabal Bū l-Ġ.rāğ*  
*Bū Ġarād*, see *Ġār Bū Ġarād*  
*Bū Khabīt*, see *Wādī Bū Khabīt*  
*Bū l-Ġ.rāğ*, see *Ġabal Bū l-Ġ.rāğ*  
*Bū l-Laqm (Q.rub.n.š) > bulluchum*  
*Bū l-R.khū (Ġālišu) > burrachu*  
*Bū M.rrū (Ġālišu) > bulmarru*  
*Bū Manšūr*, see *Hārik Bū Manšūr*  
*Bū N.fāṭ (Manzil Zarqūn) > benefatum*  
*Bū Šadaqa*, see *Khandaq Bū Šadaqa*  
*Bū Samra*, see *Qal'at Bū Samra*  
*Bū Šant Bātrū*, see *Bāb Bū Šant Bātrū*  
*Bū Z.kra, andar*, see *andar Bū Z.kra*  
*Bū Zākī (Battallaro) > Busachinum &*  
*Busackinum*  
*buagine, cultura*, see *rab' Bū 'Ağīna*  
*bucal, casale*, see *Raḥl al-Būqāl*  
*buchaben*, see *Bū Ḥabba*  
*buchabith flumen*, see *Wādī Bū Khabīt*  
*buckinene*, see *Abū Kināna*  
*budre, petra*, see *Šakbrat Tawd.r*  
*bufureram (sic)*, see *al-Ašq.f*  
*buhafu, spelunca*, see *Ġār Bū 'Afw*  
*bulebede, caput*, see *Ra's Bū Labbād*  
*buliarrah, mons*, see *Ġabal Bū l-Ġ.rāğ*  
*bulluchum*, see *Bū l-Laqm*  
*bulmarru*, see *Bū M.rrū*  
*Bumensur, terterum*, see *Hārik Bū Manšūr*  
*al-Būqāl*, see *Hağar al-Būqāl*  
*al-Būqāl*, see *Raḥl al-Būqāl*  
*al-Būr*, see *Raḥl al-Būr*  
*burarachu, mons*, see *Ġabal al-Rukhū*  
*al-burğ (Battallaro) > turris*  
*al-burğ (Q.rūb.n.š al-Suflā) > sella*  
*Burğ al-Fārisī (Iato- magna divisa) > turris*  
*elfersi*  
*Burğ al-Ḥiğār (al-Aqbāt) > turris hiyar*  
*Burğ al-Ḥiğār (al-Aqbāt) > turris biyar*  
*Burğ al-Ḥiğār (Iato- magna divisa) > turris*  
*lapis*  
*Burğ al-Marā' (Calatrasi) > turris mulieris*  
*Burğ Raqla (Mārtū) > turris herculis*  
*al-Burğ*, see *Hārik al-Burğ*  
*burrachu*, see *Bū l-R.khū*  
*Busachinum*, see *Bū Zākī*  
*Busackinum*, see *Bū Zākī*  
*busamara, Kala*, see *Qal'at Bū Samra*  
*bussadaca, vallone*, see *Khandaq Bū*  
*Šadaqa*  
*buzucra, area*, see *andar Bū Z.kra*  
*caballi, fons*, see *'Ayn al-Birdawn*  
*caccabei*, see *al-Q.q.bāw*  
*cacumina mons*, see *a'lā l-ğabal & ra's al-*  
*ğabal*  
*cadaverum, vallones*, see *al-Khandaq al-*  
*Farrāš*  
*cadime*, see *al-Qadīma*  
*caesarium*, see *al-Qaššārī*  
*cala iati*, see *Qal'at Ġāṭū*  
*Calat Ialci*, see *Qal'at Ġālišu*  
*calvus*, see *al-Qāl.bū*  
*campus abdeluehet*, see *Walağat 'Abd al-*  
*Wāḥid*  
*campus frascineti*, see *fahš al-dardār*  
*campus fraxineti*, see *fahš al-dardār*  
*campus planum*, see *al-walağa*  
*canalis sabuci*, see *Mizāb al-Sābūqa*

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- cannabi, vadum*, see *mağāz al-Qunnab*  
*cannarum, vallones*, see *Khandaq al-Qaşab*  
*cannes, divisae*, see *ḥadd Qannaš*  
*cannes*, see *Qannaš*  
*canneti, favaria*, see *Fawwārat al-Qaşaba*  
*caprarum, mons*, see *Ġabal al-Ma‘az*  
*capres, flumen*, see *Wādī Q.b.r.š*  
*caprificus*, see *al-dukkāra*  
*capud longum*, see *ra’s al-ṭawīla*  
*caput aree*, see *ra’s al-andar*  
*caput bulebede*, see *Ra’s Bū Labbād*  
*caput flumens sanctagni*, see *Ra’s Wādī Š.nt.ġnī*  
*caput fossati vinee*, see *ra’s siyāğ al-ġinān*  
*caput herneu*, see *Ra’s Arnū*  
*caput lurlur*, see *ra’s al-Ġ.r.ğ.r*  
*caput mons*, see *ra’s al-ġabal*  
*caput montane crete*, see *Ra’s ‘Aqabat al-Tafl*  
*caput Selende*, see *Ra’s Š.l.n.da*  
*caput planicie*, see *Raḥl al-Waṭā*  
*caput vinee*, see *raqabat al-ġinān*  
*caput*, see *raqaba*  
*carbusia*, see *al-Qarabūsiya*  
*casale abdellale*, see *Raḥl ‘Abd al-A‘lā*  
*casale amarii*, see *Raḥl ‘Ammār*  
*casale Amriun*, see *Raḥl ‘Amrūn*  
*casale balat, Divisa*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl al-Balāt*  
*casale balate*, see *Raḥl al-Balāt*  
*casale belich*, see *Raḥl B.liğ*  
*casale benbark, Divisa*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka*  
*casale Benbark*, see *Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka*  
*casale bensehel*, see *Raḥl Ibn Sahl*  
*casale bensyel*, see *Raḥl Ibn Sahl*  
*casale bucal*, see *Raḥl al-Būqāl*  
*casale cuttaie*, see *Raḥl Q.ṭīya*  
*casale dichichi*, see *Raḥl al-D.šīšī*  
*casale dubel*, see *Raḥl al-Dūb.l*  
*casale filii goroc*, see *Raḥl Ibn Ġ.r.k*  
*casale galid*, see *Raḥl al-Ġaliğ*  
*casale helbur*, see *Raḥl al-Būr*  
*casale helkcilei*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl al-K.lā‘ī*  
*casale huzen*, see *ribā‘ al-Wazzān*  
*casale metuey*, see *Raḥl al-Mutāwī*  
*casale modii*, see *Raḥl al-M.dd*  
*casale pağani de gorgia*, see *Raḥl Bāyān D.Ġ.r.ğ*  
*casale palamiz*, see *Raḥl B.lmīğ*  
*casale pastoris*, see *Raḥl al-Rā‘ī*
- casale Rahaluta, Divisa*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl al-Waṭā*  
*casale rande*, see *Raḥl al-Randa*  
*casale safi*, see *Raḥl Šāfi*  
*casale sikkeki*, see *Raḥl al-S.kāk*  
*casale sutoris*, see *Raḥl al-Khayyāt*  
*casale ueli*, see *Raḥl al-Wālī*  
*casale ursine veteris*, see *Raḥl W.r.sīn al-Qadīma*  
*casba*, see *al-Qaşaba*  
*casbe, divisa*, see *ḥadd al-Qaşaba*  
*Cassarīi*, see *al-Qaşārī*  
*cassarum*, see *al-Q.šārī*  
*castana*, see *Q.št.na*  
*castellum hantella*, see *Ruqqat Antallah*  
*castellum*, see *al-Ruqqa*  
*cathanie, petrae*, see *Ḥiğār Qaṭāniya*  
*cauda arietis*, see *Danab al-Kabš*  
*cefala*, see *Ġafla*  
*cephala, vallone*, see *al-Khandaq Ġafla*  
*chagi, fluvius*, see *Wādī Ḥağğāğ*  
*chagi, monticulus*, see *Kudyat al-Ḥāğğ*  
*chandackerram*, see *Khandaq Karrām*  
*chapkalini*, see *al-Kh.b.l.qīn*  
*charassata, petra*, see *al-ḥağar al-mukhriza*  
*chasu*, see *Khāšū*  
*chatab, vallones*, see *Khandaq Ḥaṭṭāb*  
*chefala*, see *Ġafala*  
*chemino*, see *Ra’s al-Kamīn*  
*chuit, monticulus*, see *Kudyat Khurud*  
*Churdi, monticellus*, see *Kudyat Khurud*  
*cinianam*, see *Ġaniyāna*  
*ciperi, lacus*, see *Ġadīr al-Su‘dī*  
*citrina, terra*, see *al-arḍ al-şafra*  
*citrinum levem, lapis*, see *ḥuğrat şafra khafīfa*  
*comiziia*, see *Q.mğā*  
*concurus*, see *multaqan*  
*Constantini, terra*, see *rab‘ Qusanṭīn*  
*controversia*, see *al-ikbtīlāf*  
*corubnis, flumen*, see *Wādī Q.rūb.n.š*  
*Corubnis*, see *Q.rūb.n.š*  
*crete, montane*, see *Ra’s ‘Aqabat al-Tafl*  
*crista elserref*, see *şulb al-şārīf*  
*crista*, see *al-şaraf*  
*crucis, petra*, see *Ḥağar al-Şalīb*  
*Cudyat elmayar*, see *Kudyat al-M.ğ.r*  
*culeiam*, see *al-Q.lī‘a*  
*culmen*, see *al-Qunzarra*  
*cultura arabis*, see *ḥişşat al-‘Arābī*  
*cultura buagine*, see *rab‘ Bū ‘Ağīna*  
*cultura filii Randi*, see *ḥişşat Ibn al-Randī*

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- cultura filiorum phitile*, see *ḥiṣṣat awlād al-Fatīla*  
*cultura helcarcubie*, see *ḥiṣṣat al-Fawyarīya*  
*cultura ianuensis*, see *rabʿ al-Ġanawī*  
*cultura narcisiam*, see *ḥiṣṣat al-N.rġisīya*  
*cultura nilig*, see *ḥiṣṣat al-Nīlaġ*  
*cultura spelti, mandra*, see *Marhalat Ruqʿa al-Aškālīya*  
*cultura teblengi*, see *ḥiṣṣat al-Taballuġ cum vallone vallone*, see *al-khandaq al-khandaq*  
*cumeyt*, see *al-Qumayt*  
*cuttaie, casale*, see *Raḥl Q.ṭīya*  
*cuttie*, see *Q.ṭīya*  
*cutunie, monticulus*, see *Kuydat al-Quṭnīya*  
*D.Ġr.ġ*, see *Bāyān D.Ġr.ġ*  
*D.nk.r*, see *ʿAyn D.nk.r*  
*al-D.šīšī*, see *Raḥl al-D.šīšī*  
*dabackie, monticulus*, see *Kudyat al-Dibāġa*  
*al-Dālīya*, see *Khandaq al-Dālīya*  
*dār al-baqar al-qadīma* (Ḥadd al-rabʿ bi-yad Ruhbān K.nīsyā al-H.rh.r) > *mandra vaccarum veterem*  
*Dār Yāsīn* (Iato- magna divisa) > *darysin al-dardār* (Battallaro) > *frasceta*  
*Dardār ʿAmrūn*, see *Bāb Dardār ʿAmrūn dardār Ambrun, porta*, see *Bāb Dardār ʿAmrūn*  
*al-dardār*, see *fahṣ al-dardār*  
*darge, flumen*, see *Wādī l-Darġa*  
*darge*, see *al-Darġa*  
*dargen fons frigidi*, see *darġat ʿAyn al-Bārīda*  
*al-Darġa* (Iato- magna divisa) > *darge darġat ʿAyn al-Bārīda* (al-Aqbāt) > *dargen fontis frigidi*  
*darġat B.rīyāqa al-Qadīma* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *scala veteris briace*  
*darġat Mārtū* (Mārtū) > *scala mertu al-Darġa*, see *Wādī l-Darġa*  
*darysin*, see *Dār Yāsīn*  
*Dasīsa* > *de syse*  
*Dasīsa* > *disise*  
*dauger, helmu*, see *Kudyat al-Mudawwar*  
*de syse*, see *Dasīsa*  
*deidami, plano filii*, see *Walaġat Ibn al-Dīd.mī*  
*demnet elbaid*, see *Dimnat al-Bayḍ*  
*densitudinem porcorum*, see *ʿifrat al-kh.nzir*  
*deru, molendinum*, see *Maṭḥanat Aldrū*  
*deserte ruine*, see *khirab*  
*desertus*, see *al-khāl*  
*desise, Divisa*, see *Ḥadd Dasīsa*  
*deyl elcurrusyn*, see *ḍayl al-Kurūšīn*  
*Danab al-Kabš* (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *cauda arietis*  
*ḍayl al-Kurūšīn* (Dasīsa) > *deyl elcurrusyn Drīyāna* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *adriani & Adriano*  
*al-Drīyūs*, see *Bāb al-Drīyūs*  
*dukkār*, see *ašġār dukkār*  
*al-dukkāra* (Battallaro) > *caprificus al-Dukkāra*, see also *Bāb al-Dukkāra*  
*al-Dibāġa*, see *Kudyat al-Dibāġa*  
*dichichi, casale*, see *Raḥl al-D.šīšī*  
*al-Dīd.mī*, see *Walaġat Ibn al-Dīd.mī*  
*dikcen, silve filii*, see *šarā Ibn Dukn dimnat ġurrayda* (Battallaro) > *finis girrayde*  
*Dimnat al-Bayḍ* (Usbiṭal Šantaġnī) > *demnet elbaid*  
*directe*, see *ʿalā l-istiwāʿ*  
*diroiti*, see *al-sawākh*  
*dirreytum*, see *al-sawākh*  
*dirroiti*, see *zalāzil*  
*dirroitum*, see *al-sawākh*  
*diruta edificia*, see *al-khīrba*  
*diruta hedificia*, see *al-khīrab*  
*al-Dīs*, see *Ruqqat al-Dīs*  
*disise*, see *Dasīsa*  
*Divisa Bicheni*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl B.ġānū*  
*Divisa bufurere*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl Bū Frīra*  
*Divisa Buluyn*, see *Ḥadd al-B.luwīn*  
*Divisa casale balat*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl al-Balāt*  
*Divisa casale benbark*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka*  
*Divisa casale helkcilei*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl al-K.lāʿī*  
*Divisa casale Rahaluta*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl al-Watā*  
*Divisa casbe*, see *ḥadd al-Qaṣaba*  
*Divisa chefala*, see *ḥadd Ġafala*  
*Divisa Coruṭnis Inferioris*, see *Ḥadd Q.rūb.nš al-Suflā*  
*Divisa coruṭnis superioris*, see *Ḥadd Q.rub.n.š*  
*Divisa de qua controversia est*, see *al-ḥadd al-mukhtaliḥ*  
*Divisa desise*, see *Ḥadd Dasīsa*  
*Divisa ducki*, see *Ḥadd al-Duqqī*

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- Divisa Elcumeit*, see *Ḥadd al-Q.mūt*  
*Divisa fantasine*, see *Ḥadd Fuṭāsina*  
*Divisa Gar*, see *Ḥadd al-Ġār*  
*Divisa Garsuayb*, see *Ḥadd Ġār Šaʿryb*  
*Divisa haiar zeneti*, see *Hudūd Haġar al-Zanāti*  
*Divisa hamem*, see *ḥadd al-Ḥammām*  
*Divisa Henduleimi*, see *Ḥadd al-Andulsīn*  
*Divisa iati magna*, see *Ḥadd Ġātū l-Kabīr*  
*Divisa iati*, see *ḥadd Ġātū*  
*Divisa Iatini*, see *Ḥadd G.ṭina*  
*Divisa inter casale maraus & casale buchinese*, see *al-ḥadd al-laḏī bayn Raḥl Marāwis wa-bayn Bū Kināna*  
*Divisa Iurfi Buckerin*, see *Ḥadd Ġurf Bū Karīm*  
*Divisa Kalatarasi*, see *Ḥadd Qalʿat al-Ṭrazī*  
*Divisa magagi*, see *Ḥadd al-Maġāġī*  
*Divisa magna*, see *al-ḥadd al-kabīr*  
*Divisa menselgresti*, see *Ḥadd Manzil K.r.š.nī*  
*Divisa menzelabdella*, see *Ḥadd Manzil ʿAbdallāh*  
*Divisa menzelsarcun*, see *Ḥadd Manzil Zarqūn*  
*Divisa mertu*, see *Ḥadd Mārtū*  
*Divisa Mezelabderrahmen*, see *Ḥadd Manzil ʿAbd al-Raḥmān*  
*Divisa Mezelamur*, see *Ḥadd Manzil Zumūr*  
*Divisa perisii*, see *ḥadd B.r.zū*  
*Divisa Rahalamrun*, see *Raḥl ʿAmrūn*  
*Divisa Rahalbensahal*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl Ibn Saḥl*  
*Divisa rahalbukal*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl al-Būqāl*  
*Divisa rahalgalid*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl al-Galīz*  
*Divisa Rahalgidit*, see *Ḥadd al-Raḥl al-Ġadīd*  
*Divisa rahalketab ioseph*, see *ḥadd Raḥl al-Kātīb Yūsuf*  
*Divisa rahalmud*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl al-M.dd*  
*Divisa Rahalygeus*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl al-Ġawz*  
*Divisa Rande*, see *Ḥadd al-Randa*  
*Divisa Summini*, see *Ḥadd Sūm.nī*  
*Divisa Sykeki*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl al-S.kāk*  
*Divisa terrarum duane*, see *Ḥadd al-ribāʿ al-dīwānīya*  
*Divisa terrarum hospitalis Sancte Agnes*, see *Ḥadd Ribāʿ Usbiṭāl Šantaġnī*  
*Divisa terrarum Ialcii*, see *Ḥadd Ġališu*
- Divisa terrarum laboratoriam que date sunt regio precepto monasterio sancti Nicolai de churchuro*, see *Ḥadd al-rabʿ bi-yad Rubbān K.nīsyā al-H.rh.r*  
*Divisa terre ianuensis*, see *ḥadd al-Ġanawī*  
*Divisae cannes*, see *ḥadd Qannaš*  
*Divisae hericusii*, see *ḥadd al-Z.kūšī*  
*Divisae iati*, see *ḥadd Ġātū*  
*Divisae kalata Mauru*, see *ḥadd Qalʿat Maurū*  
*Divisae kalatafīm*, see *ḥadd Qalʿat Fīmī*  
*Divisae mazarie*, see *ḥadd Māzar*  
*Divisae melesendini*, see *ḥadd Manzil Sindī*  
*domini battallarii*, see *šāḥib Baṭṭallārū*  
*dominus corilionis*, see *šāḥib Qurulūn*  
*dominus malviti*, see *šāḥib Malbiṭ*  
*domos dirutas*, see *al-khirab*  
*duae alterae*, see *al-kudyatayn*  
*duae petrae*, see *zawġ ḥiġār*  
*duae rupes albas*, see *al-ġurfayn al-abīḏayn*  
*duae rupes*, see *al-ġurfayn*  
*duane, homines*, see *riġāl al-Dīwān al-Maʿmūr*  
*al-Dūb.l*, see *Raḥl al-Dūb.l*  
*dubel, casale*, see *Raḥl al-Dūb.l*  
*duchi*, see *al-Duqqī*  
*ducki*, see *al-Duqqī*  
*ductus molendini kalatahali*, see *sadd maṭḥanat Qalʿat ʿAlī*  
*due petra*, see *zawġ aḥġār*  
*Dukn*, see *al-šaʿrā m.tāʿ Ibn Dukn*  
*dunkar, fons*, see *ʿAyn D.nk.r*  
*duo molendina*, see *al-zawġ muṭāḥin*  
*duos monticuluss*, see *al-kudyatayn al-Duqqī (al-B.lwīn) > ducki al-Duqqī (al-Duqqī) > ducki al-Duqqī (al-Maġāġī) > ducki al-Duqqī (Usbiṭāl Šantaġnī) > duchi*  
*durhelchibes*, see *Ḥiġār Dūr al-Akbāš*  
*eben kallele, monticulus*, see *Kudyat Bin Qallāla*  
*ebenhaues, vallones*, see *Khandaq Ibn Ḥawwās*  
*ebenlarmel, mandra*, see *Marḥalat Ibn al-Armal*  
*ebiagine, petra*, see *Haġar Ibn ʿAġma*  
*ecclesia petri*, see *al-k.nīsyat Bātrū*  
*ecclesia*, see *al-k.nīsyā*  
*Eddis, rocca*, see *Ruqqat al-Dīs*  
*edere, petra*, see *Haġar al-Arāk*

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- elam magnum, fons*, see 'Ayn al-'Amm al-Kabīra  
*elbaid, demnet*, see Dimnat al-Bayḍ  
*elchemin, caput*, see Ra's al-Kamīn  
*elcurrusyn, deyl*, see ḍayl al-Kurūšīn  
*elfersi, turris*, see Burġ al-Fārisī  
*elgafle, haret*, see Ḥarat al-Gafla  
*elgaric, vallones*, see Khandaq al-Ġariq  
*elgarik, vallones*, see Khandaq al-Ġariq  
*elgelakan, ayn*, see 'Ayn Ġalāq.n  
*elgurab, nadur*, see Nāzūr al-Gurāb  
*Elislar, fons*, see 'Ayn al-Ašġār  
*elkallele*, see Riġl al-Qallāla  
*elmayar, Cudyat*, see Kudyat al-M.ġ.r  
*elmegini, mons*, see Ġabal al-Māġinī  
*elseref, crista*, see šulb al-šārif  
*elseref, porta putei*, see Bāb Bīr al-Šārif  
*Errah, mons*, see Ġabal al-Rāḥ  
*esiar agiu, flumen*, see Wādī Ašġār  
*Ġuġġūw*  
*Fr.š.ḥ*, see 'Ayn Fr.š.ḥ  
*al-Frmā*, see Khandaq al-Frmā  
*fahṣ al-dardār* (Battallaro) > *campus*  
*fraxineti*  
*fahṣ al-dardār* (Corleone- magna divisa) >  
*campus frascineti*  
*al-Falūw*, see Wādī l-Falūw  
*fantasine, Divisa*, see Ḥadd Fuṭāsina  
*al-Fārisī*, see Burġ al-Fārisī  
*al-Farrāš*, see al-Khandaq al-Farrāš  
*al-Farrūġ*, see Raḥl al-Farrūġ  
*al-Fatīla*, see ḥiṣṣat awlād al-Fatīla  
*favara tabri*, see Fawwārat l-Tabrī  
*favaria canneti*, see Fawwārat l-Qašaba  
*favaria heraclii*, see Fawwārat Raqla  
*favaria*, see al-fawwara  
*al-fawwāra* (Haġar al-Zanātī) > *favaria*  
*fawwārat l-Qašaba* (Ġālišu) > *favaria*  
*canneti*  
*fawwārat l-Tabrī* (Iato- magna divisa) >  
*favara tabri*  
*fawwārat Raqla* (Iato- magna divisa) >  
*favaria heraclii*  
*al-Fawyarīya*, see ḥiṣṣat al-Fawyarīya  
*felu, flumen*, see Wādī l-Falū  
*fersa, fons*, see 'Ayn Fr.š.ḥ  
*fetidus, fons/fons apii*, see 'Ayn al-Karāfs/  
'Ayn al-Mintina  
*ficulnea*, see šaġrat al-tīn  
*ficulneae, arbores*, see ašġār al-tīn  
*ficus, arbor*, see šaġar  
*ficus, vallones*, see Khandaq al-Tīn  
*filiū deidami, plano*, see Walaġat Ibn al-  
Dīq.mī  
*filiū dikcen, silve*, see ša'rā Ibn Dukn  
*filiū ioseph, puteo*, see Bīr Ibn Yūsuf  
*filiū labacsen, vallo*, see Khandaq bin al-  
Aḥsan  
*filiū labacsen, vallo*, see Khandaq bin al-  
Aḥsan  
*filiū lakaf, fons*, see 'Ayn Ibn al-Qāf  
*filiū nichiforii, petra*, see Ḥaġar Ibn N.ġfūr  
*filiū Randī, cultura*, see ḥiṣṣat Ibn al-Randī  
*filiū salumi, monticellus*, see Kudyat Ibn  
Šalūmū  
*filiū veterane, spelunca*, see Ġār Ibn al-  
'Aġūz  
*filiū zebugi, fons*, see 'Ayn bin al-Z.bāġt  
*filiū zedun, porta Gar*, see Bāb Ġār Ibn  
Zaydūn  
*filiū abdella, terra*, see rab' awlād  
'Abdallāh  
*filiū phitile, cultura*, see ḥiṣṣat awlād  
al-Fatīla  
*Fīmī*, see Qal'at Fīmī  
*Fīmī*, see Qal'at Fīmī  
*finem girrayde*, see dimnat ġurrayda  
*fines apparentes in terra inculta*, see ḥadd  
Būr Tāhir  
*flumen barcoc*, see Wādī Barqūq  
*flumen belmuhusen*, see Wādī Ibn Muḥsin  
*flumen benhamut*, see Wādī bin Ḥammūd  
*flumen benmuchsēn*, see Wādī Ibn Muḥsin  
*flumen benmuksen*, see Wādī Ibn Muḥsin  
*flumen benzurra*, see Wādī Ibn Zurra  
*flumen buchabith*, see Wādī Bū Khabīṭ  
*flumen capres*, see Wādī Q.b.r.š  
*flumen corilionis*, see Wādī Qurulūn  
*flumen corubnis*, see Wādī Q.rūb.n.š  
*flumen darge*, see Wādī l-Darġa  
*flumen esiar agiu*, see Wādī Ašġār Ġuġġūw  
*flumen felu*, see Wādī l-Falūw  
*flumen fons gemaa magnum*, see Wādī  
'Ayn Ġamā'a al-Kabīra  
*flumen frigidum*, see Wādī l-Bārid  
*flumen fullonis*, see Wādī l-Qaššār  
*flumen hagem*, see Wādī l-Ḥiġār  
*flumen haiar zeneti*, see Wādī Haġar al-  
Zanātī  
*flumen Hantalla*, see Wādī Anṭalla  
*flumen hentalla*, see Wādī 'Anṭalla, see  
Wādī Anṭalla  
*flumen Iuberie*, see Wādī l-Ġ.wb.rīya  
*flumen kalatarasi*, see Wādī Qal'at Ṭrazī

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- flumen magnum*, see *al-Wādī l-Kabīr*  
*flumen malviti*, see *Wādī Malbiṭ*  
*flumen nichifori*, see *Wādī N.ġfūr*  
*flumen rahabi*, see *Wādī Rabī*  
*flumen rahaltauri*, see *Wādī Raḥl al-Taur*  
*flumen rahaluta*, see *Wādī Raḥl al-Watā*  
*flumen sanctagni, caput*, see *Ra's Wādī Š.nt.ġnī*  
*flumen Sabei*, see *Wādī Sabāya*  
*flumen sulle*, see *Wādī Salla*  
*flumen thut*, see *Wādī Tūṭ*  
*flumen uzen*, see *Wādī l-Wazzān*  
*flumen zabar*, see *'Ayn al-Z.b.r*  
*fluuius chagi*, see *Wādī Haġġāġ*  
*fluuius magnus*, see *al-Wādī l-Kabīr*  
*fluuius mertu*, see *Wādī Mārtū*  
*fons abdelkefi*, see *'Ayn 'Abd al-Kāfi*  
*fons abdelkefi*, see *'Ayn 'Abd al-Kāfi*  
*fons albesi*, see *'Ayn 'Abbās*  
*fons apii qui etiam vocatur fons fetidus*, see *'Ayn al-Karāfs wa-tusmī bi-'Ayn al-Mintina*  
*fons apii/fons fetidus*, see *'Ayn al-Karāfs wa-tusmī bi-'Ayn al-Mintina*  
*fons caballi*, see *'Ayn al-Birdawn*  
*fons dunkar*, see *'Ayn D.nk.r*  
*fons elam magnus*, see *'Ayn al-'Amm al-Kabīra*  
*fons Elisiar*, see *'Ayn al-Ašġār*  
*fons fersa*, see *'Ayn Fr.š.h*  
*fons fetidus*, see *'Ayn al-Mintina*  
*fons fetidus/fons apii*, see *'Ayn al-Karāfs wa-tusmī bi-'Ayn al-Mintina*  
*fons filii lakaf*, see *'Ayn Ibn al-Qāf*  
*fons filii zebugi*, see *'Ayn bin al-Z.būġī*  
*fons frigidī, dargen*, see *darġat 'Ayn al-Bārida*  
*fons frigidus*, see *'Ayn al-Bārida*  
*fons gemaa magnum, flumen*, see *Wādī 'Ayn Ġamā'a al-Kabīra*  
*fons hasa*, see *'Ayn al-Ḥašā*  
*fons hassen*, see *'Ayn Ḥasan*  
*fons hayes*, see *'Uyūn 'Ayyāš*  
*fons hayse*, see *'Ayn Isā*  
*fons hisa*, see *'Ayn al-Ḥašā*  
*fons Kabith*, see *'Ayn Khabīṭ*  
*fons Karacher*, see *'Ayn K.rāk.r*  
*fons kcundur*, see *'Ayn Kundur*  
*fons luti*, see *'Ayn al-Aṭyān*  
*fons magnus qui vocatur fons sanctagni*, see *al-'Ayn al-Kabīra al-ma'rūfa bi-'Ayn Šantaġnī l-Mašbūra*  
*fons magnus*, see *al-'Ayn al-Kabīra*  
*fons magnus/fons sanctagni*, see *al-'Ayn al-Kabīra al-ma'rūfa bi-'Ayn Šantaġnī l-Mašbūra*  
*fons mazariensius*, see *'Ayn al-Māzarīn*  
*fons monticuli petri*, see *'Ayn Kudyat Bātrū*  
*fons mortille*, see *'Uyūn al-Riḥān*  
*fons pannorum*, see *'Ayn al-Khurūq*  
*fons pিরerii*, see *'Ayn al-Inġāša*  
*fons pomerii*, see *'Ayn al-Tuffāḥa*  
*fons rubbet*, see *'Ayn al-'Ullayqa*  
*fons rubeti*, see *'Ayn al-'Ullayqa*  
*fons rupium*, see *'Uyūn al-Iġrāk*  
*fons Saban*, see *'Ayn al-Šaḥim*  
*fons sanctagni/fons magnus*, see *al-'Ayn al-Kabīra al-ma'rūfa bi-'Ayn Šantaġnī l-Mašbūra*  
*fons simar*, see *'Ayn al-Samār*  
*fons Ullica*, see *'Ayn al-'Ullayqa*  
*fons uruc*, see *'Ayn al-Khurūq*  
*fons vulturum*, see *'Ayn al-Nusūr*  
*fons yse*, see *'Ayn Isā*  
*fons zarca*, see *'Ayn al-Zarqa*  
*fons zebugi*, see *'Ayn al-Z.būġī* & *'Ayn bin al-Z.būġī*  
*fons zufeī zefe*, see *'Ayn al-Zufayzafa*  
*forme, vallones*, see *Khandaq al-F.r.mā*  
*fossarum, monticulus*, see *al-Kudya al-Muṭāmīr*  
*fossarum, terterum*, see *Ḥārik al-Muṭāmīr*  
*fossati*, see *siyāġ*  
*fovea benkage*, see *ḥufrat Ibn Raġā*  
*fovearum, monticellus*, see *Kudyat al-Muṭāmīr*  
*frasceta*, see *al-dardār*  
*frascimeti, campus*, see *faḥš al-dardār*  
*frigidum, flumen*, see *Wādī l-Bārid*  
*frigidum, fons*, see *'Ayn al-Bārida*  
*fuliet, vallones*, see *Khandaq al-Fūliyāt*  
*al-Fūliyāt*, see *Khandaq al-Fūliyāt*  
*fullonis, flumen*, see *Wādī l-Qaššār*  
*Ġ.r.k*, see *Raḥl Ibn Ġ.r.k*  
*al-Ġ.r.n.zī*, see *al-ġabal al-ma'rūf bi-al-Ġ.r.n.zī* & *Khandaq al-Ġ.r.n.zī*  
*al-ġadīr (Battallaro) > lacus*  
*Ġadīr Ḥalīma (Q.rub.n.š) > lacus halime*  
*Ġadīr al-Kattān (Raḥl 'Amrūn) > lacus lini*  
*gadīr seitet*, see *Ġadīr Sittāt*  
*Ġadīr Sittāt (Calatrasi) > gadīr seitet*  
*Ġadīr al-Su'dī (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > lacus ciperi*



APPENDIX A

- Ġadīr al-Su‘dī* (Raḥl al-Māya) > *lacus ciperi*  
*Ġadīr al-Sūdān*, see *al-šaraf Ġadīr al-Sūdān*  
*Ġadīr al-Z.ġ.ndī* (Battallaro) > *lacus zagandi*  
*Gadyr seuden, altera*, see *al-šaraf Ġadīr al-Sūdān*  
*al-Ġafla*, see *Harat al-Ġafla*  
*galid, casale*, see *Raḥl al-Ġalīz*  
*al-Ġalīz*, see *Raḥl al-Ġalīz*  
*Ganem*, see *Ġannām*  
*ganemi, balata*, see *Balāt Ġannām*  
*ganimo*, see *Ġannām*  
*Ġannām* (Manzil ‘Abdallāh) > *Ganem*  
*Ġannām* (Raḥl B.ġānū) > *ganimo*  
*Ġannām*, see *Balāt Ġannām*  
*Ġār al-Aswad* (Iato- magna divisa) > *spelunca nigri*  
*Ġār Baqqa* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *spelunca backie*  
*Ġār Bū ‘Afw* (Ġālišu) > *spelunca buhafu*  
*Ġār Bū Ġarād* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *Garbuierat*  
*Gar filii zedun, porta*, see *Bāb Ġār Ibn Zaydūn*  
*Ġār Ibn al-‘Aġūz* (Battallaro) > *spelunca filii veterane*  
*Ġār Ibn Zaydūn*, see *Bāb Ġār Ibn Zaydūn*  
*Ġār Ġābir* (Maġāġī & Sūm.nī) > *spelunca ieber*  
*Ġār Khalaf* (al-Q.mīṭ) > *Garchalef*  
*Ġār Khalaf* (Raḥl B.ġānū) > *Garchalef*  
*Ġār al-S.kāt.ra* (Battallaro) > *spelunca scutiferorum*  
*Ġār Ša‘īb* (Calatrasi) > *garsuhaybe*  
*Ġār Ša‘īb* (Ġār Ša‘īb) > *Garsuayb*  
*Ġār Ša‘īb* (Raḥl Ibn Sahl) > *Garsuayb*  
*Ġār, Divisa*, see *Hadd al-Ġār*  
*ġarban* (Battallaro) > *versus occidentem*  
*Garbuierat*, see *Ġār Bū Ġarād*  
*Garchalef*, see *Ġār Khalaf*  
*Garik, vallones*, see *Khandaq al-Ġarīq*  
*garik, vallones*, see *al-Khandaq al-Ġarīq*  
*al-Ġarīq*, see *Khandaq al-Ġarīq*  
*al-Ġarīq*, see *Raḥl al-Ġarīq*  
*Garsuayb*, see *Ġār Ša‘īb*  
*garsuhaybe*, see *Ġār Ša‘īb*  
*gaytus yhie*, see *al-Qāyid Yahyā*  
*Gebelzurara*, see *Ġabal Z.rāra*  
*geber*, see *Ġābir*  
*gema magnum, flumen fons*, see *Wādī ‘Ayn Gamā’a al-Kabīra*  
*ghemi, caput*, see *Ra’s al-Kamīn*  
*Gindar, vallo*, see *al-Khandaq al-K.ndār*  
*girrayde, finem*, see *dimnat ġurrayda*  
*granzi, vallis*, see *Khandaq al-Ġ.r.nzī*  
*gressus herculis*, see *Kbuṭūṭ al-Raqlī*  
*al-ġudur* (Malbīt) > *lacuum guillelmi, mandra*, see *Marḥalat Ġuliyālim*  
*al-ġulām*, see *khandaq al-ġulām*  
*Ġuliyālim*, see *Marḥalat Ġuliyālim*  
*al-Ġurāb*, see *Nāzūr al-Ġurāb*  
*al-Ḥ.nāwīya*, see *Khandaq al-Ḥ.nāwīya*  
*Habba*, see *Bū Habba*  
*Hadd al-Andulsīn* (al-Andulsīn) > *Divisa Henduleini*  
*Hadd al-Aqbāt* (al-Aqbāt) > *Divisa Lacbat*  
*Hadd al-B.lwīn* (al-B.lwīn) > *Divisa Buluyin*  
*Hadd B.r.zū* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *divisa perisii*  
*Hadd Baṭṭallārū* (Battallaro) > *divisa battallarii*  
*Hadd Būr Tābir* (al-Duqqī) > *finis apparentes in terra inculta*  
*Hadd Dasīsa* (Dasīsa) > *Divisa desise*  
*Hadd al-Duqqī* (al-Duqqī) > *Divisa ducki*  
*Hadd Fuṭāsina* (Fuṭāsina) > *Divisa fantasine*  
*Hadd al-Ġār* (al-Ġār) > *Divisa Gar*  
*Hadd Ġār Ša‘īb* (Ġār Ša‘īb) > *Divisa Garsuayb*  
*Hadd Haġar al-Zanātī*, see *Hudūd Haġar al-Zanātī*  
*Hadd al-Ḥammām* (Battallaro) > *divisa hamem*  
*Hadd Hiġār al-Rā’ī* (Raḥl al-Ġalīz) > *lapides pastoris*  
*Hadd Ġ.ṭina* (Ġ.ṭina) > *Divisa Iatini*  
*Hadd Ġafala* (Iato- magna divisa) > *divisa chefala*  
*Hadd Ġālišu* (Ġālišu) > *Divisa terrarum Ialcū*  
*Hadd al-Ġanawī* (Malbīt) > *divisa terre ianuensis*  
*Hadd Ġātū* (Calatrasi) > *divisae iati*  
*Hadd Ġātū* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *divisae iati*  
*Hadd Ġātū* (Haġar al-Zanātī) > *divisa iati*  
*Hadd Ġātū* (Iato- magna divisa) > *magna divisa iati*  
*Hadd Ġātū* (Malbīt) > *divisae iati*  
*Hadd Ġātū l-Kabīr* (Raḥl Bū Frīra) > *divisa iati magna*

APPENDIX A

- Ḥadd Ğurf Bū Karīm* (Ğurf Bū Karīm) > *Divisa Iurfi Buckerin*  
*al-Ḥadd al-kabīr* (al-Ġār) > *magna divisa*  
*al-Ḥadd al-kabīr* (Raḥl al-Māya) > *divisa magna*  
*al-Ḥadd al-laḏī bayn Raḥl marāwis wa-bayn Bū Kināna* > *Divisa inter casale maraus & casale buchinene*  
*Ḥadd al-Magāgi* (al-Magāgi) > *Divisa magagi*  
*Ḥadd Manzil ‘Abd al-Raḥmān* (Manzil ‘Abd al-Raḥmān) > *Divisa Mezelabderrahmen*  
*Ḥadd Manzil ‘Abdallāh* (Manzil ‘Abdallāh) > *Divisa menzelabdella*  
*Ḥadd Manzil K.r.š.nī* (Manzil K.r.š.nī) > *Divisa menselgresti*  
*Ḥadd Manzil Sindī* (Battallaro) > *divisae melesendini*  
*Ḥadd Manzil Zarqūn* (Manzil Zarqūn) > *Divisa menzelsarcun*  
*Ḥadd Manzil Zumūr* (Manzil Zumūr) > *Divisa Mezelamur*  
*Ḥadd Mārtū* (Mārtū) > *Divisa mertu*  
*Ḥadd Māzar* (Iato- magna divisa) > *divisae mazarie*  
*al-Ḥadd al-mukhtaliḏ* (Sūm.nī) > *divisa de qua controversia est*  
*Ḥadd al-Q.mīṭ* (al-Q.mīṭ) > *Divisa Elcumeit*  
*Ḥadd Q.rub.n.š* (Q.rub.n.š) > *Divisa corrupnis superioris*  
*Ḥadd Q.rūb.nš al-Suflā* (Q.rūb.nš al-Suflā) > *Divisa Corupnis Inferioris*  
*Ḥadd Qal’at Fīmi* (Iato- magna divisa) > *divisae kalatafīm*  
*Ḥadd Qal’at Maurū* (Battallaro) > *divisae kalata Mauru*  
*Ḥadd Qal’at al-Ṭrazī* (Calatrasi) > *divisa Kalatarasi*  
*Ḥadd Qal’at Ṭrazī* (Calatrasi) > *divisa kalatarasi*  
*Ḥadd Qal’at Ṭrazī* (Iato- magna divisa) > *divisae kalatarasi*  
*Ḥadd Qannaš* (Battallaro) > *divisae cannes*  
*Ḥadd al-Qašaba* (Battallaro) > *divisa casbe*  
*Ḥadd Qurulūn* (Battallaro) > *divisa corilionis*  
*Ḥadd Qurulūn* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *divisa corilionis*  
*Ḥadd Qurulūn* (Ḥaġar al-Zanātī) > *divisa corilionis*
- Ḥadd Qurulūn al-Kabīr* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *Magna divisa corilionis*  
*Ḥadd al-rab’ bi-yad Rubbān K.nīsyā al-H.rh.r* > *Divisa terrarum laboratoriam que date sunt regio precepto monasterio sancti Nicolai de churchuro*  
*Ḥadd Raḥl B.ġānū* (Raḥl B.ġānū) > *Divisa Bicheni*  
*Ḥadd Raḥl al-Balāt* (Raḥl al-Balāt) > *Divisa casale balat*  
*Ḥadd Raḥl Bū F.rīra* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *Divisa bufurere*  
*Ḥadd Raḥl al-Būqāl* (Raḥl al-Būqāl) > *Divisa rahalbukal*  
*Ḥadd Raḥl al-Ġaltz* (Raḥl al-Ġaltz) > *Divisa rahalgalid*  
*Ḥadd Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka* (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *Divisa casale benbark*  
*Ḥadd Raḥl Ibn Sahl* (Raḥl Ibn Sahl) > *Divisa Rahalbensahal*  
*Ḥadd al-Raḥl al-Ġadīd* (al-Raḥl al-Ġadīd) > *Divisa Rahalgidit*  
*Ḥadd Raḥl al-Ġawz* (Raḥl al-Ġawz) > *Divisa Rahalygeus*  
*Ḥadd Raḥl al-K.lā’ī* (Raḥl al-K.lā’ī) > *Divisa casale helkcilei*  
*Ḥadd Raḥl al-Kātib Yūsuf* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *divisa rahalketab ioseph*  
*Ḥadd Raḥl al-M.dd* (Raḥl al-M.dd) > *Divisa rahalmud*  
*Ḥadd Raḥl al-S.kāk* (Raḥl al-S.kāk) > *Divisa Sykeki*  
*Ḥadd Raḥl al-Waṭā* (Raḥl al-Waṭā) > *Divisa casale Rahaluta*  
*Ḥadd al-Randa* (al-Randa) > *Divisa Rande*  
*Ḥadd al-ribā’ al-dīwānīya* (Ḥadd al-ribā’ al-dīwānīya) > *Divisa terrarum duane*  
*Ḥadd Ribā’ Usbiṭāl Šantaġnī* (Usbiṭāl Šantaġnī) > *Divisa terrarum hospitalis Sancte Agnes*  
*Ḥadd Sūm.nī* (Sūm.nī) > *Divisa Summini*  
*Ḥadd al-Z.kūšī* (Battallaro) > *divisae hericusī*  
*Ḥaddādīm B.rīyāqa*, see *Kudyat Ḥaddādīm B.rīyāqa*  
*hagar bibentis lac*, see *Ḥaġar Bāb Šurb al-Laban*  
*hagem, flumen*, see *Wādī l-Ḥiġār*  
*hagiarbucal*, see *Ḥaġar al-Būqāl*  
*haiar seneti*, see *Ḥaġar al-Zanātī*

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- haiar zeneti, flumen*, see *Wādī Hağar al-Zanātī*
- haiar zeneti*, see *Hağar al-Zanātī*
- haiarbucal*, see *Hağar al-Būqāl*
- hağar al-arāk* (al-Mağāğī) > *petra edere*
- hağar al-‘uqāb* (Q.rub.n.š) > *lapis aquile*
- hağar al-‘uqāb* (Q.rub.n.š) > *petra aquile*
- hağar bāb šurb al-laban* (Ġālişu) > *hagar bibentis lac*
- Hağar al-Barmīlī* (Malbīt) > *lapis barilis*
- al-hağar al-bīdā* (al-B.lwīn) > *petra alba*
- hağar al-bīdā* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *petra alba*
- hağar al-bīdā* (Raḥl al-Māya) > *petra alba*
- hağar al-būqāl* (Gurf Bū Karīm) > *haiarbucal*
- hağar al-būqāl* (Raḥl al-Būqāl) > *hagiarbucal*
- Hağar Ibn ‘Ağma* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *petra ebiagine*
- Hağar Ibn Liyāna* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *petra billienem*
- Hağar Ibn N.ğfūr* (al-Q.mīt) > *petra filii nichiforii*
- Hağar Ġārāş* (Iato- magna divisa) > *petra ieras*
- al-hağar al-kabīr* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *magna petra*
- al-hağar al-kabīr* (Hağar al-Zanātī) > *petra magna*
- al-hağar al-kabīr* (Iato- magna divisa) > *magna petra*
- hağar maṭqūba*, see *rābi‘ hağar maṭqūba*
- Hağar Maymūn* (Malbīt) > *petra maymoni*
- al-hağar al-mukhriza* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *petra quasi charassata*
- Hağar Ni‘ma* (Raḥl al-Ġalīz) > *petra neme*
- hağar al-şalīb* (al-Duqqī) > *petra crucis*
- al-hağar al-sağīr* (Süm.nī) > *lapis parva*
- al-hağar al-sağīr* (Süm.nī) > *petra parva*
- hağar salāma* (Q.rub.n.š) > *lapis sellem*
- Hağar al-Sarrāq* (al-B.lwīn) > *lapis surraki*
- al-hağar al-tawīl* (Hağar al-Zanātī) > *petra longa*
- hağar al-ṭawīl* (al-Mağāğī) > *petra longa*
- Hağar al-Zanātī* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *haiar zeneti*
- Hağar al-Zanātī* (Hağar al-Zanātī) > *haiar zeneti*
- Hağar al-Zanātī* (Iato- magna divisa) > *haiar zeneti*
- Hağar al-Zanātī* (al-Mağāğī) > *haiar seneti*
- Hağar al-Zanātī* (Süm.nī) > *aiarseneti*
- Hağar al-Zanātī*, see *Wādī Hağar al-Zanātī*
- al-Hāğğ*, see *Kudyat al-Hāğğ*
- Huğğāğ*, see *Wādī Huğğāğ*
- Halīma*, see *Ġadīr Halīma*
- halime, lacus*, see *Ġadīr Halīma*
- hamem, balneum*, see *al-Ḥammām*
- hamem, divisa*, see *ḥadd al-Ḥammām*
- al-Ḥammām* (Battallaro) > *hamem, balneum*
- al-Ḥammām* (Calatrasi) > *Balneo Ḥammām Anṭalla* (Calatrasi) > *Balneum Hantella*
- al-ḥammām*, see *ḥammām Anṭalla*
- al-Ḥammāmī*, see *Bīr al-Ḥammāmī*
- Hammūd*, see *Ġinān bin Hammūd*
- Hamza*, see *Hārik Ibn Hamza*
- al-Ḥanāwīya*, see *Khandaq al-Ḥanāwīya*
- hancarar*, see *al-Ank.rāt*
- Hannād*, see *Kudyat Hannād*
- hanneuie, vallone*, see *Khandaq al-Hanāwīya*
- hanneuie, vallones*, see *Khandaq al-Hanāwīya*
- Hantalla, Antella*, see *Antalla*
- hantella, castellum*, see *Ruqqat Antallah*
- Harat al-Ġafla* (Battallaro) > *haret elgafle, haret helgafle*
- haret elgafle, haret helgafle*, see *Harat al-Ġafla*
- hārik* (Battallaro) > *terteri*
- Hārik ‘Amrūn* (Raḥl ‘Amrūn) > *terterum amruni*
- Hārik al-Ballūt* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *mons ballot & terterum ballot*
- Hārik al-Ballūta* (bayn Raḥl Marāwis wa-bayn Bū Kināna) > *terterum ballota*
- Hārik bin Ḥamza* (al-B.lwīn) > *terterum benhamse*
- Hārik Bīr al-Hināş* (Q.rub.n.š) > *terterum putei serpentum*
- Hārik Bū Maşşūr* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *terterum Bumensur*
- Hārik al-Burğ* (bayn Raḥl Marāwis wa-bayn Bū Kināna) > *terterum turris*
- al-ḥārik al-ḥārik* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *per montem montem*
- al-ḥārik al-ḥārik* (al-Raḥl al-Ġadīd) > *per terterum terterum*
- al-ḥārik al-ḥārik* > *per terterum terterum*
- Hārik Ibn Hamza* (al-Duqqī) > *altera benhamsa*
- al-ḥārik al-kabīr* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *terterum magnum*

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- al-hārik al-kabīr* (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *magnum terterum*  
*Hārik al-Khayyāt* (Q.rub.n.š) > *terterum sutoris*  
*al-Hārik al-Maḥḡir* (Raḥl al-Waṭā) > *terterum petrosi*  
*Hārik al-Muṭāmīr* (al-B.lwīn) > *terterum fossarum*  
*Hārik al-Riḥ* (Battallaro) > *mons venti*  
*al-Harīrī* (Haḡar al-Zanātī), see *Andar al-Harīrī*  
*al-Ḥaṣā*, see *‘Ayn al-Ḥaṣā*  
*hasa, fons*, see *‘Ayn al-Ḥaṣā*  
*hassen, fons*, see *‘Ayn Hasan*  
*Ḥaṭṭāb*, see *Khandaq Ḥaṭṭāb*  
*ḥawz* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *no equivalent*  
*ḥawz Gāṭū* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *in pertinentibus iati*  
*ḥawz Gāṭū* (Iato- magna divisa) > *tenimentum iati*  
*jūn al-Mammānī* (Iato- magna divisa) > *murum parci*  
*ḥawz al-Madīna* (Iato- magna divisa) > *tenimentum panormi*  
*hayes, fons*, see *‘Uyūn ‘Ayyāš*  
*al-ḥāyiṭ al-ḥāyiṭ* (Iato- magna divisa) > *per murum murum*  
*ḥāyiṭ al-ḡūn* (Raḥl al-Ġawz) > *murum Ieuni*  
*hayse, fons*, see *‘Ayn ‘Isā*  
*hcapkalinos*, see *al-Kh.b.l.qīn*  
*hedificia diruta haret algafle*, see *khirab Harat al-Ġaḡla*  
*hedificia diruta*, see *al-khirab*  
*hedorum, pratum*, see *Marḡ al-Ġidyān*  
*helbur, casale*, see *Raḥl al-Būr*  
*helcarcubie, cultura*, see *ḥiṣṣat al-Fawarīya*  
*helcasar*, see *al-Qaṣr*  
*helgaḡle, haret*, see *Harat al-Ġaḡla*  
*helkcilei, casale*, see *Hadd Raḥl al-K.lā‘ī*  
*helmu dauger*, see *Kudyat al-Mudawwar*  
*henned, monticulus*, see *Kudyat Hannād*  
*heraclii, favara*, see *Fawwārat Raqla*  
*herculi*, see *Raqla*  
*herculis, gressus*, see *Khuṭūṭ al-Raqlī*  
*herculis, turris*, see *Burḡ Raqla*  
*hericusī, rucusī*, see *al-Z.kūšī*  
*herneu, caḡut*, see *Ra’s Arnū*  
*hezeyet, mandra Marca*, see *marḡala tusmī marqad al-zīyāt*
- hiar, turris*, see *Burḡ al-Ḥiḡār*  
*al-ḥiḡār al-biḡ* (Battallaro) > *lapides albos*  
*ḥiḡār biḡ* (Battallaro) > *petra alba*  
*Ḥiḡār Dūr al-Akbāš* (al-Q.mīṭ) > *durhelchibes*  
*al-ḥiḡār al-ḥumr* (Iato- magna divisa) > *petrae rubeae*  
*al-ḥiḡār al-ḥumr* (Raḥl al-Ġalīz) > *lapides rubeos*  
*al-ḥiḡār al-ḥumr* (Raḥl al-Ġalīz) > *petrae rufae*  
*al-ḥiḡār al-kibār* (al-Andulsīn) > *petra magna*  
*al-ḥiḡār al-kibār* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *petra magna*  
*al-ḥiḡār al-kibār* (Raḥl al-Ġalīz) > *petrae magna*  
*Ḥiḡār al-N.fzī* (Manzil ‘Abd al-Raḡmān) > *lapides nefri (sic)*  
*Ḥiḡār al-N.fzī* (Raḥl B.ḡānū) > *lapides nefzi*  
*ḥiḡār al-naḥl* (al-Ġār) > *petrae apium*  
*ḥiḡār al-naḥl* (Ġ.tīna) > *petrae apium*  
*Ḥiḡār Qaṭānīya* (Ġurf Bū Karīm) > *petrae cathanie*  
*Ḥiḡār Qaṭānīya* (Raḥl al-Būqāl) > *petra cathanie*  
*Ḥiḡār al-Rāḡil* (Battallaro) > *lapides masculī*  
*Ḥiḡār Sālīm* (al-Q.mīṭ) > *petrae sel[ ] (sic)*  
*Ḥiḡār al-Šubāt* (al-B.lwīn) > *petra sabat*  
*Ḥiḡār al-Šubāt* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *lapides sabat*  
*Ḥiḡār al-Šubāt* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *petra sabat*  
*Ḥiḡār al-Šubāt* (Raḥl al-Māya) > *lapides sabat*  
*Ḥiḡār Ya‘qūb* (Usbiṭāl Šantaḡnī) > *petra iacob*  
*Ḥiḡār Yāq.nu* (Usbiṭāl Šantaḡnī) > *lapis Iohannis*  
*al-Ḥiḡār*, see *Burḡ al-Ḥiḡār*  
*al-Ḥiḡār*, see *Wādī l-Ḥiḡār*  
*Ḥilya*, see *Andar Ibn Ḥilya*  
*al-Ḥināš*, see *Hārik Bīr al-Ḥināš*  
*al-Ḥināš*, see *Kudyat al-Ḥināš*  
*Hindūn*, see *Manzil Hindūn*  
*ḥiṣṣat al-‘Arābī* (Q.rub.n.š) > *cultura arabis*  
*ḥiṣṣat awlād al-Fatīla* (Iato- magna divisa) > *cultura filiorum phitile*  
*ḥiṣṣat al-Fawyarīya* (Sūm.nī) > *cultura helcarcubie*

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- hişşat Ibn al-Randī* (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *cultura filii Randi*  
*hişşat al-N.rġisiya* (Malbīt) > *cultura narcisia*  
*hişşat al-Nīlaġ* (Sūm.nī) > *cultura nilig*  
*hişşat al-Taballuġ* (Malbīt) > *cultura teblengi*  
*hisa*, fons, see *‘Ayn al-Ḥaşā*  
*hiyar*, turris, see *Burġ al-Ḥiġār*  
*homines corilionis*, see *abl Qurulūn*  
*homines duane*, see *riġāl al-Dīwān al-Ma‘mūr*  
*homines lacbat*, see *abl al-Aqbāt*  
*homines malviti*, see *abl Malbīt*  
*homines partenici*, see *abl B.r.ṭnūq*  
*homines permenini*, see *abl al-B.rmānīn*  
*hospitalis Sancte Agnes*, see *Ḥadd Ribā‘ Usbiṭāl Šantaġnī*  
*hospitalis*, see *abl Šantaġnī*  
*hospitalis*, see *al-Usbiṭāl*  
*al-ḥudb al-ḥudb* (Battallaro) > *per gibbum gibbum*  
*Ḥudūd Ḥaġar al-Zanātī* (Ḥaġar al-Zanātī) > *Divisa haiar zeneti*  
*ḥufrat Ibn Raġā* (al-Randa) > *fovea benkage*  
*ḥuġrat šafrā khaṭifa* (Usbiṭāl Šantaġnī) > *lapis citrinus levis*  
*al-Ḥumur*, see *Raḥl al-Ḥumur*  
*hurife*, see *al-Ġurifa*  
*Husayn bin al-Qar‘a*, see *Andar Ḥusayn bin al-Qar‘a*  
*huzen casale*, see *ribā‘ al-Wazzān*  
*huzen veteris*, see *al-Wazzān al-Qadīma*  
*‘Isā*, see *‘Ayn ‘Isā*  
*iacob*, *mandra petra*, see *al-marḥala al-latī tasmā Ḥiġār Ya‘qūb*  
*iacob*, see *Ya‘qūb*  
*Ialci*, *Calat*, see *Qal‘at Ġālişu*  
*Ialcii*, *Divisa terrarum*, see *Ḥadd Ġālişu*  
*Ialcium*, see *Ġālişu*  
*ianuensem*, see *al-Ġanawī*  
*ianuensi*, see *rab‘ al-Ġanawī*  
*ianuensis*, *cultura*, see *rab‘ al-Ġanawī*  
*ianuensis*, *divisa terre*, see *ḥadd al-Ġanawī*  
*Iarrath*, *mons*, see *Ġabal al-Ġ.rāġ*  
*iati*, *cala*, see *Qal‘at Ġātū*  
*iati*, see *Ġātū*  
*iatina*, see *Ġ.ṭina*  
*Iatini*, *Divisa*, see *Ḥadd Ġ.ṭina*  
*Iato*, see *Ġātū*  
*Ibn ‘Aġīna*, see *Ḥaġar Ibn ‘Aġīna*  
*Ibn al-‘Aġūz*, see *Ġār Ibn al-‘Aġūz*  
*Ibn ‘Atīq*, see *Bīr Ibn ‘Atīq*  
*Ibn al-Armal*, see *Marḥalat Ibn al-Armal*  
*Ibn ‘Uqāba*, see *ribā‘ Ibn ‘Uqāba*  
*Ibn B.r.ka*, see *Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka*  
*Ibn al-Dīd.mī*, see *Walaġat Ibn al-Dīd.mī*  
*Ibn Dukn*, see *al-ša‘rā m.tā‘ Ibn Dukn*  
*Ibn Ḥamza*, see *Hārik Ibn/bin Ḥamza*  
*Ibn Ḥawwās*, see *Khandaq Ibn Ḥawwās*  
*Ibn Ḥilya*, see *Andar Ibn Ḥilya*  
*Ibn Ġabr*, see *Marḥalat bin Ġabr*  
*Ibn Ġarrāḥ* (Malbīt) > *beniarrak*  
*Ibn Ġarrāḥ*, see *aşl Ibn Ġarrāḥ*  
*Ibn Liyāna*, see *Ḥaġar Ibn Liyāna*  
*Ibn Muḥsin*, see *Wādī Ibn Muḥsin*  
*Ibn N.ġfūr*, see *Ḥaġar Ibn N.ġfūr*  
*Ibn al-Qāf*, see *‘Ayn Ibn al-Qāf*  
*Ibn Raġā*, see *ḥufrat Ibn Raġā*  
*Ibn al-Randī*, see *hişşat Ibn al-Randī*  
*Ibn Rizq Allāh*, see *mađiq Ibn Rizq Allāh*  
*Ibn Rub‘un*, see *Ġabal Ibn Rub‘un*  
*Ibn Şalūmū*, see *Ibn Şalūmū*  
*Ibn Sabl*, see *Raḥl Ibn Sabl*  
*Ibn Yūsuf*, see *Bīr Ibn Yūsuf*  
*Ibn Z.rra*, see *Wādī Ibn Z.rra*  
*Ibn Zaydūn*, see *Bāb Ġār Ibn Zaydūn*  
*ieber*, *spelunca*, see *Ġār Ġābir*  
*ieras*, *petra*, see *Ḥaġar Ġarāş*  
*leuni*, *murum*, see *ḥāyit al-ġun*  
*al-Iġrāk*, see *‘Uyūn al-Iġrāk*  
*al-ikhtilāf* (Sūm.nī) > *controversia in caput plani*, see *ra’s al-wata’ in pertinentibus iati*, see *ḥawz Ġātū*  
*al-ingāşa* (Mārtū) > *pirerium*  
*al-ingāşa* (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *pirerium*  
*al-Inġāşa*, see *‘Ayn al-Inġāşa*  
*iohannis*, *area*, see *andar Yānī*  
*Iohannis*, *lapis*, see *Ḥiġār Yāq.nu*  
*ioseph*, *divisa rahalketab*, see *ḥadd Raḥl al-Kātib Yūsuf*  
*ioseph*, *puteo filii*, see *Bīr Ibn Yūsuf*  
*Iqlīm Ġātū* (Iato- magna divisa) > *tenimentum iati*  
*Isqrāġū* (Mārtū) > *scaragiium*  
*Iştūl.s*, see *Balāt Iştūl.s*  
*Iuberie*, *flumen*, see *Wādī l-Ġ.wb.rīya*  
*iudeorum*, *vallones*, see *Khandaq al-Yahūd*  
*Iulu*, *lapidbus*, see *aşġār Ġuġġūw*  
*Iurfi Buckerin*, *Divisa*, see *Ḥadd Ġurf Bā Karīm*  
*iurfo Rahalbahari*, see *ġurf Raḥl Bahri*  
*Iurlur*, *caput*, see *ra’s al-Ġ.rġ.r*

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- Ğ.rāğ, see *Bū Ğ.rāğ*  
*al-Ğ.rāğ*, see *Ğabal Bū l-Ğ.rāğ*  
*al-Ğ.rğ.r*, see *Ra's al-Ğ.rğ.r*  
 Ğ.ṭīna (Dasīsa) > *iatina*  
 Ğ.ṭīna (Ğ.ṭīna) > *Iatini*  
*al-Ğ.wb.rīya*, see *Wādī l-Ğ.wb.rīya*  
*Ğabal Bū l-Ğ.rāğ* (al-Aqbāt) > *mons buliarrah*  
*Ğabal Ibn Rub'un* (al-Andulsīn) > *mons benrabaun*  
*Ğabal al-Ğ.rāğ* (Raḥl al-Ğawz) > *mons Iarrath*  
*al-ğabal al-ğabal* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *per montem montem*  
*al-ğabal al-ğabal* (Ġār Ša'īb) > *per montem montem*  
*al-ğabal al-ğabal* (Ḥağar al-Zanātī) > *per montem montem*  
*al-ğabal al-kabīr al-aḥmar* (Battallaro) > *mons magnus rubeus*  
*Ğabal al-Kurūšīn* (al-Andulsīn) > *locus kcerrusin*  
*Ğabal al-Ma'az* (Iato- magna divisa) > *mons caprarum*  
*al-ğabal al-ma'rūf bi-al-Ğ.r.n.zī* (Ḥağar al-Zanātī) > *mons qui vocatur benarauzi*  
*Ğabal al-Māğīnī* (Iato- magna divisa) > *mons elmegīnī*  
*Ğabal al-Rukḥū* (Ġālişu) > *mons burarachu*  
*Ğabal al-Rāḥ* (Ġālişu) > *mons Errah*  
*Ğabal Raḥl B.liğ* (Ġār Ša'īb) > *mons Rahalbeligi*  
*Ğabal Z.rāra* (bayn Raḥl Marāwis wa-bayn Bū Kināna) > *Gebelzurara*  
*Ğabal Z.rāra* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *mons zurara*  
*Ğābir* (Raḥl al-Būqāl) > *geber*  
*Ğafala* (Iato- magna divisa) > *chefala*  
*Ğafla* (al-Duqqī) > *rahalmie (sic)*  
*Ğafla* (Raḥl al-Māya) > *cefala*  
*Ğafla*, see *al-Khandaq Ğafla*  
*Ġalāq.n*, see *'Ayn Ġalāq.n*  
*Ġālişu* (Ġālişu) > *Ialcium*  
*Ġālişu*, see *Qal'at Ġālişu*  
*al-Ġanawī* (Sūm.nī) > *ianuensem*  
*al-Ġanawī*, see *rab' al-Ġanawī*  
*Ġaniyāna* (Battallaro) > *ciniana*  
*Ġarād*, see *Ġār Bū Ġarād*  
*Ġārāş*, see *Ḥağar Ġārāş*  
*al-ğarī l-mağrī* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *per cursum cursum*
- Ġarrāḥ*, see *Ibn Ġarrāḥ*  
*Ġātū* (Calatrasi) > *Iato*  
*Ġātū* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *Iato*  
*Ġātū* (Ḥağar al-Zanātī) > *Iato*  
*Ġātū* (Iato- magna divisa) > *Iato*  
*al-Ġidyān*, see *Marğ al-Ġidyān*  
*al-ğinān* (Calatrasi) > *vinea*  
*ğinān 'Arab* (al-Aqbāt) > *vinea arab*  
*ğinān bin Hammūd* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *vinea benhamut*  
*ğinān bin Kināna* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *Raḥl al-Māya*  
*Ġinān bin Kināna*, see *Raḥl al-Māya*  
*ğinān al-kātīb Lāw* (Ġālişu) > *vinea notarii Leonis*  
*ğinān Qal'at 'Alī* (Calatrasi) > *vinea kalatahali*  
*al-ğinān*, see *ğinān Qal'at 'Alī*  
*Guğğūw*, see *aşğar Guğğūw* & *Wādī aşğar Guğğūw*  
*al-ğün*, see *ḥāyiṭ al-ğün*  
*ğün al-Mannānī* (Iato) > *murum parci*  
*Ġurf al-Q.r.yānī* (Malbīt) > *rupis karieni*  
*ğurf Raḥl Baḥrī* (Iato- magna divisa) > *iurfo Rahalbahari*  
*al-ğurfayn* (Battallaro) > *duas rupes*  
*al-ğurfayn al-abīdayn* (Raḥl al-K.lā'ī) > *duas rupes albas*  
*al-Ġurīfa* (al-B.lwīn) > *hurife*  
*al-Ġurīfa* (Mağnūğa) > *hurife*  
*ğurrayda*, see *dimna ġurrayda*  
*al-K.ndār*, see *al-Khandaq al-K.ndār*  
*al-k.nīsyā* (Calatrasi) > *ecclesia*  
*al-k.nīsyā* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *ecclesia*  
*al-k.nīsyā* (Ḥağar al-Zanātī) > *ecclesia*  
*al-k.nīsyā* (Iato- magna divisa) > *kinisia*  
*al-k.nīsyā* (Mağnūğa) > *ecclesia*  
*al-k.nīsyā Bātrū* (al-Duqqī) > *ecclesia petri*  
*K.r.ş.tī*, see *Manzil K.r.ş.tī*  
*K.rāk.r*, see *'Ayn K.rāk.r*  
*al-Kabīr*, see also *al-Wādī l-Kabīr*  
*al-Kabīr*, see *Khandaq al-Kabīr*  
*al-Kabīra*, see *al-Kudya l-Kabīra*  
*Kabith, fons*, see *'Ayn Khabīṭ*  
*al-Kabş*, see *Danab al-Kabş*  
*Kala busamara*, see *Qal'at Bū Samra*  
*Kala*, see *qal'at*  
*Kalaa iati*, see *Qal'at Ġātū*  
*kalata Mauru, divisae*, see *ḥadd Qal'at Maurū*  
*kalatahali*, see *Qal'at 'Alī*

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- kalatamauru/kalata mauru*, see *Qal'at Mawrū*  
*Kalatarasi* or *kalatarasi*, see *Qal'at al-Ṭrazī kalatefim*, see *Qal'at Fimī*  
*kalatrasi*, see *Qal'at Ṭrazī*  
*kallele, mons*, see *al-Qalāla*  
*kallele, pratum*, see *marğ Qallāla*  
*kallele*, see *al-Qallāla*  
*Kallele, vallonēs*, see *Khandaq al-Qallāla*  
*al-Kamīn*, see *Ra's al-Kamīn*  
*Karacher, fons*, see *'Ayn K.rāk.r*  
*al-Karāfs*, see *'Ayn al-Karāfs/'Ayn al-Mintina*  
*karenc, pratum*, see *Marğ al-Karnak*  
*karieni, rupis*, see *Ġurf al-Q.r.yānī*  
*karieni*, see *al-Q.r.yānī*  
*karieno, karienum*, see *al-Q.r.yānī*  
*al-Karnak*, see *Marğ al-Karnak*  
*Karrām*, see *Khandaq Karrām*  
*karram, vallis*, see *Khandaq Karrām*  
*Karrān*, see *Riynūn Karrān*  
*al-kātib Lāw*, see *ġinān al-kātib Lāw*  
*al-Kātib Yūsuf*, see *ḥadd Raḥl al-Kātib Yūsuf*  
*al-Kātib*, see *Khandaq al-Kātib & Khandaq Karrām*  
*al-Kattān*, see *Ġadīr al-Kattān*  
*kcerrusin*, see *Ġabal al-Kurūšīn*  
*kcundur, fons*, see *'Ayn Kundur*  
*al-Kh.b.l.qīm* (al-Andulsīn) > *chapkalini*  
*al-Kh.b.l.qīm* (al-Andulsīn) > *hcapkalinos*  
*al-kh.nzīr*, see *'ifrat al-kh.nzīr*  
*Khabīṭ*, see also *'Ayn Khabīṭ*  
*Khabīṭ*, see *Wādī Bū Khabīṭ*  
*al-khāl* (Iato- magna divisa) > *desertus*  
*al-khāli* (Calatrasi) > *vacuum*  
*Khandaq al-Aḥsan* (Mağnūġa) > *vallonēs lachasen*  
*Khandaq B.ln.bū* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *vallonēs palumbu*  
*Khandaq al-B.lwīn* (al-Mağāġī) > *vallo beluyini*  
*Khandaq al-B.trā* (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *vallonēs petra & vallonēs pitra*  
*Khandaq al-Balāṭ* (Iato- magna divisa) > *vallonēs balate*  
*Khandaq bin al-Aḥsan* (al-Duqqī) > *vallo filii labacsen & vallo filii labacsen*  
*Khandaq Bīn Šabīb* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *vallonēs bensebbib*  
*Khandaq Bū Šadaqa* (Manzil 'Abd al-Raḥmān) > *vallonēs bussadaca*  
*Khandaq al-Dāliya* (al-Raḥl al-Ġadīd) > *vallonēs vitis*  
*Khandaq al-F.rmā* (Q.rub.n.š) > *vallonēs forme*  
*al-Khandaq al-Farrāš* (Q.rüb.nš al-Suflā) > *vallonēs cadaverum*  
*Khandaq al-Fūliyāt* (al-Duqqī) > *vallonēs fuliet*  
*Khandaq al-Ġ.r.nzī* (al-Mağāġī) > *vallis granzi*  
*Khandaq al-Ġariq* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *vallonēs Garic*  
*Khandaq al-Ġariq* (Ḥaġar al-Zanāti) > *vallonēs elgarik*  
*Khandaq al-Ġariq* (Ḥaġar al-Zanāti) > *vallonēs Garik*  
*Khandaq al-Ġariq* (Iato- magna divisa) > *vallonēs elgaric*  
*Khandaq al-Ġariq* (Q.rub.n.š) > *vallonēs garik*  
*al-Khandaq al-Ġariq* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *vallonēs garik*  
*al-Khandaq al-Ġariq* (Raḥl al-Būqāl) > *vallonēs Garik*  
*al-Khandaq al-Ġariq* (Raḥl al-Māya) > *vallonēs garik*  
*khandaq al-ġulām* (Battallaro) > *vallonēs servi*  
*Khandaq al-Ḥanāwīya* (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *vallonēs hanneuye*  
*Khandaq al-Ḥanāwīya* (Raḥl Laq.mūqa) > *vallonēs hanneuye*  
*Khandaq al-Ḥanāwīya* (Raḥl Laq.mūqa) > *vallonēs hanneuye*  
*Khandaq Ḥaṭṭāb* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *vallonēs chatab*  
*Khandaq Ḥiġār al-Šubāt* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *vallo lapis sabat*  
*Khandaq Ibn Ḥawwās* (Mağnūġa) > *vallonēs ebenhaues*  
*al-Khandaq Ġafla* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *vallonēs cephalā*  
*al-Khandaq al-K.ndār* (Usbiṭāl Šantaġnī) > *vallo Ġindar*  
*Khandaq Karrām/Khandaq al-Kātib* (Iato- magna divisa) > *chandackerram*  
*Khandaq Karrām/Khandaq al-Kātib* (Iato- magna divisa) > *vallis karram & vallonēs notariī*  
*al-khandaq al-khandaq* (Battallaro) > *per vallonem vallonem*

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- al-khandaq al-khandaq* (Calatrasi) > *per vallonem vallonem*  
*al-khandaq al-khandaq* (Iato- magna divisa) > *cum vallone vallone*  
*al-khandaq al-khandaq* (Usbiṭāl Šantaġnī) > *vallones*  
*Khandaq al-Lubb* (Iato- magna divisa) > *vallones lupi*  
*Khandaq Mārtū* (Mārtū) > *vallones mertu*  
*Khandaq al-Qallāla* (al-Q.mīt) > *vallones Kallele*  
*Khandaq al-Qaşab* (Calatrasi) > *vallones cannarum*  
*Khandaq al-Qaşab* (Raḥl ‘Amrūn) > *vallones cannarum*  
*Khandaq al-Qatīl* (al-Raḥl al-Ġadīd) > *vallones occisi*  
*al-khandaq al-raqīq* (Battallaro) > *vallones subtilem*  
*Khandaq al-Rāmī* (Iato- magna divisa) > *vallones rumi*  
*al-khandaq al-saġīr* (Battallaro) > *vallones parvus*  
*al-khandaq al-saġīr* (Calatrasi) > *vallones parvus*  
*khandaq saġīr* (Calatrasi) > *vallones parvus*  
*Khandaq al-Sallāb* (Battallaro) > *vallone sellha*  
*Khandaq Šaraf* (Raḥl al-Ġawz) > *vallones saraf*  
*Khandaq al-Šaykb* (Battallaro) > *vallones veterani*  
*Khandaq al-Ṭarfā* (Raḥl al-Ġalīz) > *vallones tamarici*  
*Khandaq al-Tīm* (Battallaro) > *vallones ficus*  
*Khandaq al-Yahūd* (al-Aqbāt) > *vallones iudeorum*  
*Kharrāz*, see *Manzil Kharrāz*  
*Khāšū* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *chasu*  
*al-Khayyāt*, see *Hārik al-Khayyāt*  
*al-Khayyāt*, see *Raḥl al-Khayyāt*  
*khirab* (Battallaro) > *hedificia diruta*  
*al-khirab* (Battallaro) > *hedificia diruta*  
*al-khirab* (Calatrasi) > *domus dirutas*  
*khirab* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *deserte ruine*  
*al-khirab* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *ruinas desertas*  
*al-khirab* (Ḥadd al-rab‘ bi-yad Ruhbān K.nīsyā al-H.rh.r) > *diruta hedificia*  
*khirab B.riyāqa al-Qadīma* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *ruinas desertas veteris briace*  
*khirab B.riyāqa al-Qadīma*, see *B.riyāqa al-Qadīma*  
*khirab Ḥarat al-Ġafla* (Battallaro) > *hedificia diruta haret algafle*  
*al-khirba* (al-Duqqī) > *diruta edificia*  
*al-khirba* (al-Maġāġī) > *diruta hedificia*  
*al-khirba* (Raḥl al-Māya) > *diruta hedificia*  
*Khirbat ‘Ayn Ḥasan* (al-Duqqī) > *ruinosa eius*  
*al-khulūf* (Battallaro) > *arbustorum, arbustis*  
*Khurud*, see *Kudyat Khurud*  
*al-Khurūq*, see *‘Ayn al-Khurūq*  
*Khutūt al-Raqlī* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *gressus herculis*  
*Khutūt Raqlī* (Raḥl al-Māya) > *gressus herculis*  
*Kināna*, see *Abī Kināna*  
*Kināna*, see *Ġinān bin Kināna*  
*kinisia*, see *al-k.nīsyā*  
*al-Kudya al-Biṭā* (Raḥl al-K.lā‘ī) > *monticellus albus*  
*al-Kudya al-Kabīra* (al-Maġāġī) > *monticellus grandiori*  
*al-Kudya al-Laṭīfa* (Usbiṭāl Šantaġnī) > *monticulus parvus*  
*al-Kudya al-Muṭāmīr* (al-Duqqī) > *monticulus fossarum*  
*Kudyat Bātrū*, see *‘Ayn Kudyat Bātrū*  
*Kudyat Bātrū* (Maġnūġa) > *monticulus petri*  
*Kudyat Bin Qallāla* (Q.rub.n.š) > *monticulus eben kallele*  
*Kudyat al-Dibāġa* (Raḥl Laq.mūqa) > *monticulus dabackie*  
*Kudyat Ḥaddādīn B.riyāqa* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *monticulus edin briace*  
*Kudyat al-Ḥāġġ* (Manzil Zarqūn) > *monticulus chagi*  
*Kudyat al-Ḥināš* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *monticulus serpentum*  
*Kudyat al-Ḥināš* (Iato- magna divisa) > *monticellus serpentum*  
*Kudyat Hannād* (Maġnūġa) > *monticulus henned*  
*Kūdyat al-Ḥināš* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *monticulus serpentum*  
*Kudyat Ibn Šalūmū* (Iato- magna divisa) > *monticellus filii salumi*



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- Kudyat Khurud* (al-Andulsīn) > *monticulus chuit*  
*Kudyat Khurud* (Raḥl al-S.kāk) > *monticellus Churdi*  
*Kudyat al-Lubūb* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *monticulus luporum*  
*Kudyat al-M.ğ.r* (Manzil ‘Abdallāh) > *Cudyat elmayar*  
*Kudyat al-Mudawwar* (Battallaro) > *helmu dauger*  
*Kudyat al-Mudawwar* (Raḥl ‘Amrūn) > *monticulus rotundus*  
*Kudyat al-Muṭāmīr* (Malbīt) > *monticellus fovearum*  
*Kudyat al-Muṭāmīr* (Raḥl al-Ġalīz) > *monticulus fovearum*  
*Kudyat al-Nusūr* (Iato- magna divisa) > *monticellus vulturum*  
*Kudyat al-Nusūr* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *monticellus vulturum*  
*Kudyat al-Nusūr* (Raḥl al-Ġalīz) > *monticulus vulturum*  
*Kudyat al-Nusūr* (Raḥl al-Māya) > *monticulus vulturum*  
*Kudyat al-Quṭnīya* (Raḥl al-Ġalīz) > *monticulus cutunie*  
*Kudyat al-Raml* (Battallaro) > *altera altera (sic) & altera rubbet*  
*Kudyat al-Sallāba* (Battallaro) > *altera latronum*  
*Kudyat al-Sallāba* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *monticulus Sellebe al-kudyatayn* (Battallaro) > *duae alterae al-kudyatayn* (al-Mağāğī) > *duos monticuli Kuleam*, see *al-Q.lr’a*  
*Kundur*, see ‘Ayn *Kundur*  
*al-Kurūšīn*, see *ḍayl al-Kurūšīn*  
*al-Kurūšīn*, see *Ġabal al-Kurūšīn*  
*Lāb.lū*, see *Burğ Lāb.lū*  
*al-Laban*, see *Ḥağar Bāb Šurb al-Laban*  
*lac*, *hagar bibentis*, see *Ḥağar Bāb Šurb al-Laban*  
*lachbat*, see *al-Aqbāt*  
*lachsen*, *vallones*, see *Khandaq al-Aḥsan*  
*lacini*, *vado*, see *mağāz Ġadīr al-Kattān*  
*lacus ciperi*, see *Ġadīr al-Su’dī*  
*lacus halime*, see *Ġadīr Ḥalīma*  
*lacus lini*, see *Ġadīr al-Kattān*  
*lacus zagandi*, see *Ġadīr al-Z.ğ.ndī*  
*lacus*, see *al-ğadīr*  
*lacusucka*, see *riğāl Laq.mūqa*  
*lacuum*, see *al-ğudur labacssen*, *vallo filii*, see *Khandaq bin al-Aḥsan*  
*lakaf*, *fons filii*, see ‘Ayn *Ibn al-Qāf lamuckam (sic)*, see *Laq.mūqa*  
*lapides albos*, see *al-ḥiğār al-bīd*  
*lapides lulu*, see *aşğār Ġuğğūw*  
*lapides masculi*, see *Ḥiğār al-Rāğīl*  
*lapides nefri (sic)*, see *Ḥiğār al-N.fzī*  
*lapides nefzi*, see *Ḥiğār al-N.fzī*  
*lapides pastoris*, see *ḥadd Ḥiğār al-Rā’ī*  
*lapides rubeos*, see *al-ḥiğār al-ḥumr*  
*lapides sabat*, see *Ḥiğār al-Šubāt*  
*lapidis sabat*, *vallo*, see *Khandaq Ḥiğār al-Šubāt*  
*lapis aquile*, see *Ḥağar al-‘Uqāb*  
*lapis barilis*, see *Ḥağar al-Barmīlī*  
*lapis citrinum levem*, see *ḥuğra şafrā khafīfa*  
*lapis Iohannis*, see *Ḥiğār Yāq.nu*  
*lapis parva*, see *al-ḥağar al-sağīr*  
*lapis sellem*, see *Ḥağar Salāma*  
*lapis surraki*, see *Ḥağar al-Sarrāq*  
*lapis*, *turris*, see *Burğ al-Ḥiğār*  
*Laq.mūqa* (Laq.mūqa) > *lacamucka*  
*Laq.mūqa* (Raḥl Laq.mūqa) > *lamucka (sic)*  
*al-Laqm*, see *Bū l-Laqm*  
*al-Laṭīfa* (Usbitāl Şantağnī), see *al-Kudya l-Laṭīfa*  
*latronum*, *altera*, see *Kudyat al-Sallāba*  
*Lāw*, see *ğinān al-kātīb*  
*Leonis*, *vinea notariū*, see *ğinān al-kātīb Lāw*  
*lini*, *lacus*, see *Ġadīr al-Kattān*  
*Liyāna*, see *Ḥağar Ibn Liyāna*  
*locus kcerrusin*, see *Ġabal al-Kurūšīn*  
*locus strictus*, see *al-mađīq*  
*al-Lubb*, see *Khandaq al-Lubb*  
*al-Lubūb*, see *Kudyat al-Lubūb*  
*Lulu*, see *mađīq Manzil Lulu*  
*lupi*, *vallones*, see *Khandaq al-Lubb luporum*, *monticulus*, see *Kudyat al-Lubūb*  
*al-M.dd*, see *Raḥl al-M.dd*  
*al-M.ğ.r*, see *Kudyat al-M.ğ.r*  
*al-M.kīb* (Mārtū) > *muḥeyb*  
*al-M.lğā* (Q.rūb.nş al-Suflā) > *no equivalent*  
*al-M.r* (Battallaro) > *murrum*  
*al-M.rra* (Battallaro) > *mura[m]*  
*al-M.rşūş* (Ġ.ṭīna) > *marsus*  
*M.rū*, see *Bū M.rū*

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- m.tāʿ* (Raḥl Laq.mūqa) > *no equivalent*  
*m.tāʿ*, see *al-šaʿrā m.tāʿ Ibn Dukn*  
*al-mā l-mā* (Fuṭāṣina) > *per aquam aquam*  
*al-Maʿaz*, see *Ġabal al-Maʿaz*  
*al-Maʿaz*, see *Raḥl al-Maʿaz*  
*machazen*, see *al-makhbāzin*  
*mactel*, see *al-Maqtal*  
*al-Madīna al-mahmiyya* (Battallaro) > *Panormum*  
*al-maḍīq* (Hadd al-rabʿ bi-yad Ruḥbān K.nīsyā al-H.rh.r) > *mudica*  
*al-maḍīq* (Q.rub.n.š) > *locus strictus*  
*maḍīq ʿIyād* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *mudica yad*  
*maḍīq Ibn Rizq Allāh* (Raḥl al-Waṭā) > *strictum rescalla*  
*al-maḍīq al-laḍī fi-bi al-sayyālī* (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *mudica ubi stillat aqua*  
*maḍīq Manzil Lulu* (Q.rub.n.š al-Suflā) > *strictum menzelleuleu*  
*maḍīq al-Šaqāliba* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *mudica sicalbe*  
*maḍīq yalbis* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *strictum usque ad modica yelbes*  
*al-Maḡāḡī* (Ḥaḡar al-Zanātī) > *magagi*  
*al-Maḡāḡī* (al-Maḡāḡī) > *magagi*  
*al-Maḡāḡī* (Sūm.nī) > *magagi*, see *al-Maḡāḡī*  
*maganuge*, *maganugem*, see *Maḡnūḡa*  
*Maganugia*, *magnugia*, see *Maḡnūḡa*  
*al-māḡina* (Q.rub.n.š) > *meginam*  
*Magna divisa corilionis*, see *Ḥadd Qurulūn al-Kabīr*  
*magna divisa iati*, see *ḥadd Ġātū*  
*magna divisa*, see *al-ḥadd al-kabīr*  
*magna petra*, see *al-ḥaḡar al-kabīr*  
*Magnuge*, see *Maḡnūḡa*  
*magnuge*, see *Maḡnūḡa*  
*Maḡnūḡa* (al-Duqqī) > *maganugem*  
*Maḡnūḡa* (lato- magna divisa) > *Magnuge*  
*Maḡnūḡa* (Maḡnūḡa) > *maganuge*  
*Maḡnūḡa* (al-Q.mīṭ) > *maganugem*  
*Maḡnūḡa* (Usbiṭāl Santaḡnī) > *Maganugia*, *magnugia*  
*magnum flumen quod vocatur flumen benmuksen*, see *Wādī Ibn Muḥsin*  
*magnum flumen*, see *al-Wādī l-Kabīr*  
*magnum terterum*, see *al-ḥārik al-kabīr*  
*magnus fons*, see *al-ʿAyn al-Kabīr*  
*magnus, fons*, see *al-ʿAyn al-Kabīra*  
*al-maḡāḡa* (Battallaro) > *via publica*  
*maḡāḡat Dasīsa* (Manzil K.r.š.nī) > *via publica desise*  
*al-maḡāḡa al-maḡāḡa* (Fuṭāṣina) > *per publicam publicam*  
*al-maḡāḡa al-maḡāḡa* (al-Raḥl al-Ġadīd) > *per viam viam*  
*al-maḡāḡa al-maḡāḡa* (Raḥl al-Waṭā) > *per viam viam*  
*maḡāḡat Māzar* (*passim*) > *via publica mazarie*  
*maḡāḡat Q.rub.n.š* (Manzil Zumūr) > *via corubnis*  
*maḡāḡat Qalʿat ʿTrazī* (Manzil ʿAbdallāh) > *via Kalatarasi*  
*al-Maḡāḡa*, see *Raḥl al-Maḡāḡa*  
*al-Maḡḡir*, see *al-Ḥārik al-Maḡḡir*  
*al-mahmiyya*, see *al-Madīna al-mahmiyya*  
*maḡāz* (Calatrasi) > *vadum*  
*maḡāz* (Dasīsa) > *vadum fluminis*  
*maḡāz* (lato- magna divisa) > *vadum*  
*maḡāz Ġadīr al-Kattān* (Raḥl ʿAmrūn) > *vadum lacini*  
*maḡāz al-Ḥammām* (Calatrasi) > *vadum balnei*  
*maḡāz Qalʿat ʿTrazī* (Calatrasi) > *transitum kalatatrasi*  
*maḡāz al-Qunnab* (al-Raḥl al-Ġadīd) > *vadum cannabi*  
*al-Māḡīnī*, see *Ġabal al-Māḡīnī*  
*al-maḡrī l-maḡrī* (Battallaro) > *per aqueductum aqueductum*  
*al-maḡrī l-maḡrī* (Battallaro) > *per rivulum rivulum*  
*al-maḡrī l-maḡrī* (Calatrasi) > *aque ductum*  
*al-maḡrī l-maḡrī* (Raḥl al-Ġalīz) > *per ductum ductum aque*  
*al-maḡrī l-maḡrī* (Raḥl al-Ġalīz) > *per fluctum fluctum aque*  
*al-makhbāzin* (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *machazen*  
*Malbīṭ* (Calatrasi) > *malvito*  
*Malbīṭ* (Malbīṭ) > *malvito*  
*Malbīṭ* (Sūm.nī) > *malvitum*  
*Malbīṭ*, see *Wādī Malbīṭ*  
*Mālis* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *meles*  
*al-Malḡā* (lato- magna divisa) > *milge*  
*malviti, flumen*, see *Wādī Malbīṭ*  
*malvito & malvitum* see *Malbīṭ*  
*al-manāqiʿ* (al-Duqqī) > *menaka*  
*mandra ases*, see *Marḡalat ʿAzāz*  
*mandra Azes*, see *Marḡalat ʿAzāz*  
*mandra beniabar*, see *Marḡalat bin Ġabr*

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- mandra cultura spelti*, see *Marḥalat Ruq'a al-Aškālīya*  
*mandra ebenlarmel*, see *Marḥalat Ibn al-Armal*  
*mandra guillelmi*, see *Marḥalat Ġuliyālim*  
*mandra Marca hezeyet*, see *marḥala tusmī marqad al-zīyāt*  
*mandra petra iacob*, see *al-marḥala al-latī tasmā Hiḡār Ya'qūb*  
*mandra que vocatur Marca hezeyet*, see *marḥala tusmī marqad al-zīyāt*  
*mandra siculi*, see *Marḥalat al-Šiqillī*  
*mandra vaccarum veterem*, see *Dār al-Baqar al-Qadīma*  
*mandra vaccarum*, see *marāhil al-baqar*  
*mandra*, see *marḥala*  
*al-Mammānī*, see *ḡun al-Mammānī*  
*Manšūr*, see *Hārīk Bū Manšūr*  
*Manzil 'Abdallāh* (Calatrasi) > *mezlabdella*  
*Manzil 'Abdallāh* (Malbīt) > *miselabdella*  
*Manzil 'Abdallāh* (Manzil 'Abd al-Rahmān) > *Mezelabderramen*  
*Manzil 'Abdallāh* (Manzil 'Abdallāh) > *Manzil 'Aqār* (Calatrasi) > *mizel hackal*  
*Manzil Hindūn* (Iato- magna divisa) > *mezelhendun*  
*Manzil K.r.š.tī* (Manzil K.r.š.nī) > *menselgresti*  
*Manzil K.r.š.tī* (Manzil Zumūr) > *menselgresti*  
*Manzil Kharrāz* (Manzil K.r.š.nī) > *menzelcharres*  
*Manzil Lulu*, see *maḡīq Manzil Lulu*  
*Manzil Našr* (al-Gār) > *menzel nusayr*  
*Manzil Qāsim* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *mezelkasem*  
*Manzil Šālīḡ* (Raḡl Bū F.rīra) > *menzelsalah*  
*Manzil Šīndī* (Calatrasi) > *meselendinum*  
*Manzil Sindī* (Battallaro) > *melesendini*  
*Manzil Zaraqūn* (Manzil Zaraqūn) > *menzelsarcun*  
*Manzil Zaraqūn* (Raḡl al-S.kāk) > *menzelsarcun*  
*Manzil Zumūr* (Manzil Zumūr) > *Mezelzamura & menzelzamura*  
*al-Maqtal* (Malbīt) > *mactel*  
*al-Marā'*, see *Burḡ al-Marā'*  
*marāhil al-baqar* (al-Gār) > *mandra vaccarum*  
*Marca hezeyet, mandra*, see *marḥala tusmī marqad al-zīyāt*  
*marcadmahad*, see *al-marqad ma'ād*  
*marge*, see *al-marḡ*  
*margi magnum*, see *al-marḡ al-kabīr*  
*margi*, see *al-marḡ*  
*margibuli*, see *marḡ Lāb.lū*  
*margikasimi*, see *Marḡ Qāsim*  
*marḥala* (Haḡar al-Zanātī) > *mandra marḥalat 'Azāz* (Manzil 'Abd al-Rahmān) > *mandra Azes*  
*marḥalat 'Azāz* (Manzil 'Abdallāh) > *mandra ases*  
*marḥalat bin Ġabr* (Raḡl Bū F.rīra) > *mandra beniabar*  
*marḥalat Ġuliyālim* (Malbīt) > *mandra guillelmi*  
*marḥalat Ibn al-Armal* (Malbīt) > *mandra ebenlarmel*  
*al-marḥala al-latī tasmā Hiḡār Ya'qūb* (Usbītāl Šantaḡnī) > *mandra que vocatur petra iacob*  
*marḥalat Ruq'a al-Aškālīya* (Malbīt) > *mandra cultura spelti*  
*marḥalat al-Šiqillī* (Malbīt) > *mandra siculi*  
*marḥala tusmī marqad al-zīyāt* (Usbītāl Šantaḡnī) > *mandra que vocatur Marca hezeyet*  
*al-marḡ* (Battallaro) > *margi*  
*al-marḡ* (Battallaro) > *planum*  
*al-marḡ* (Calatrasi) > *marge & margi*  
*marḡ* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *margi*  
*marḡ* (Iato- magna divisa) > *pratum*  
*marḡ* (Q.rub.n.š) > *pratum*  
*marḡ 'Abdallāh* (Q.rub.n.š al-Suflā) > *pratum abdella*  
*marḡ al-Ġidyān* (Malbīt) > *pratum bedorum*  
*al-marḡ al-kabīr* (Calatrasi) > *margi magnum*  
*marḡ al-Karnak* (Malbīt) > *pratum karenc*  
*marḡ Lāb.lū* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *margibuli*  
*marḡ Qallāla* (Q.rub.n.š) > *pratum kallele*  
*marḡ Qāsim* (Raḡl al-Gawz) > *margikasimi*  
*al-marqad ma'ād* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *marcadmahad*  
*marqad al-zīyāt*, see *marḥala tusmī marqad al-zīyāt*  
*marsus*, see *al-M.ršūš*  
*marsus*, see *Ra's Ġabal al-M.ršūš*  
*Mārtū* (Iato- magna divisa) > *mertu*  
*Mārtū* (Ġ.ḡina) > *mertu*

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- Mārtū* (Mārtū) > *mertu*  
*Mārtū*, see *Khandaq Mārtū*  
*Mārtū*, see *Wādī Mārtū*  
*masculi, lapides*, see *Ḥiḡār al-Rāḡil*  
*masḡid al-Bārid* (Corleone- magna divisa)  
 > *mesita berdi*  
*massat, terra*, see *rabʿ al-Mišāt*  
*maṭqūba*, see *rābiʿ ḥaḡār maṭqūba*  
*al-maṭāḥin* (Iato- magna divisa) >  
*molendinos*  
*maṭāḥin al-Wazzān* (Ĝ.ṭina) > *molendina*  
*usen*  
*al-Maṭāmīr*, see *Hārik al-Maṭāmīr*  
*al-Maṭāmīr*, see *al-Kudya al-Maṭāmīr*  
*al-Maṭāmīr*, see *Kudyat al-Maṭāmīr*  
*maṭḥana* (Iato- magna divisa) > *molendum*  
*maṭḥana* (Raḥl al-Ġawz) > *molendinum*  
*maṭḥanat Alḡrū* (Corleone- magna divisa)  
 > *molendinum deru*  
*maṭḥanat And.rīya* (Ḥaḡār al-Zanāṭī) >  
*molendinum andree*  
*maṭḥanat Manzil Hindūn* (Raḥl al-Ġawz)  
 > *molendinum menzelbindun*  
*maṭḥanat Qalʿat ʿAlī* (Calatrasi) >  
*molendini kalatabali*  
*maṭḥanat al-sayyālī* (Ḥaḡār al-Zanāṭī) >  
*molendinum syeli*  
*Mawrū*, see *Qalʿat Mawrū*  
*al-Māya*, see *Raḥl al-Māya*  
*maymoni, petra*, see *Ḥaḡār Maymūn*  
*Maymūn*, see *Ḥaḡār Maymūn*  
*Māzar* (Battallaro) > *mazarie*  
*Māzar* (Calatrasi) > *mazararia*  
*Māzar* (Iato- magna divisa) > *mazararia*  
*mazararia*, see *Māzar*  
*mazariensium, fons*, see *ʿAyn al-Māzarīn*  
*al-Māzarīn* (Ġāliṣu), see *ʿAyn al-Māzarīn*  
*medach*, see *al-midaqq*  
*meginam*, see *al-māgina*  
*meles*, see *Mālis*  
*melesendini, divisae*, see *ḥadd Manzil Sindī*  
*melesendini*, see *Manzil Sindī*  
*menaka*, see *al-manāqiʿ*  
*menselgresti*, see *Manzil K.r.š.tī*  
*menselgresti*, see *Manzil K.r.š.tī*  
*menzel nusayr*, see *Manzil Naṣr*  
*menzelabdella*, see *Ḥadd Manzil ʿAbdallāh*  
*menzelcharres*, see *Manzil Kharrāz*  
*menzelhindun, molendinum*, see *maṭḥanat*  
*Manzil Hindūn*  
*menzelleuleu, strictum*, see *maḡiq Manzil*  
*Lulu*  
*menzelsalab*, see *Manzil Ṣāliḥ*  
*menzelsarcun*, see *Manzil Zarqūn & Ḥadd*  
*Manzil Zarqūn*  
*menzelzamura*, see *Manzil Zumūr*  
*meridien*, see *qibla*  
*mertu, Divisa*, see *Ḥadd Mārtū*  
*mertu, scala*, see *darḡat Mārtū*  
*mertu*, see *Mārtū*  
*mertu, vallones*, see *Khandaq Mārtū*  
*mesca*, see *al-misqā*  
*meselendinum*, see *Manzil Šindī*  
*mesita berdi*, see *Maḡid al-Bārid*  
*mestetabseyru*, see *muštātāb šaʿīra*  
*metuey, casale*, see *Raḥl al-Mutāwī*  
*mezelabdella*, see *Manzil ʿAbdallāh*  
*Mezelabderrahmen, Divisa*, see *Ḥadd*  
*Manzil ʿAbd al-Raḥmān*  
*Mezelabderrahmen*, see *Manzil ʿAbdallāh*  
*Mezelamura, Divisa*, see *Ḥadd Manzil*  
*Zumūr*  
*mezelhendun*, see *Manzil Hindūn*  
*mezelkasem*, see *Manzil Qāsim*  
*Mezelamura*, see *Manzil Zumūr*  
*al-midaqq* (Q.rub.n.š) > *medach*  
*milge*, see *al-Malḡā*  
*al-minšār al-minšār* (Corleone- magna  
 divisa) > *per serram serram*  
*al-Mintina*, see *ʿAyn al-Karāfs/ʿAyn al-*  
*Mintina*  
*al-Mintina*, see *al-ʿAyn al-Mintina*  
*miselabdella*, see *Manzil ʿAbdallāh*  
*miselabdella, terrae*, see *rabaʿ abl Manzil*  
*ʿAbdallāh*  
*al-Mišāt*, see *rabʿ al-Mišāt*  
*al-misqā* (Q.rub.n.š) > *mesca*  
*mīzāb al-Sābūqa* (Ġāliṣu) > *canalis sabuci*  
*mizel hackal*, see *Manzil ʿAqār*  
*modica yelbes*, see *maḡiq yalbis*  
*modii, casale*, see *Raḥl al-M.dd*  
*molendina usen*, see *maṭāḥin al-Wazzān*  
*molendini kalatabali*, see *maṭḥanat Qalʿat*  
*ʿAlī*  
*molendinos*, see *al-maṭāḥin*  
*molendinum andree*, see *maṭḥanat*  
*And.rīya*  
*molendinum deru*, see *Maṭḥanat Alḡrū*  
*molendinum menzelbindun*, see *maṭḥanat*  
*Manzil Hindūn*  
*molendinum syeli*, see *maṭḥanat al-sayyālī*  
*molendinum*, see *maṭḥana*  
*molendum*, see *maṭḥana*  
*monitculum vulturum*, see *Kudyat al-Nusūr*

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- mons ballot*, see *Hārik al-Ballūt*  
*mons benarauzi*, see *al-ġabal al-maʿrūf bi-*  
*al-Ġ.r.n.zī*  
*mons benrabaun*, see *Ġabal Ibn Rubʿūn*  
*mons buliarrāh*, see *Ġabal Bū l-Ġ.r.āġ*  
*mons burarachū*, see *Ġabal al-Rukhū*  
*mons caprarum*, see *Ġabal al-Maʿaz*  
*mons caprarum*, see *Raḥl al-Maʿaz*  
*mons elmegini*, see *Ġabal al-Māġini*  
*mons Errah*, see *Ġabal al-Rāḥ*  
*mons Iarrath*, see *Ġabal al-Ġ.r.āġ*  
*mons kallele*, see *al-Qallāla*  
*mons magnus reubeus*, see *al-ġabal al-kabīr*  
*al-aḥmar*  
*mons Rahabeligi*, see *Ġabal Raḥl B.līġ*  
*mons venti*, see *Hārik al-Rīḥ*  
*mons zurara*, see *Ġabal Z.rāra*  
*montanus crete*, see *Raʿs ʿAqabat al-Tafl*  
*monticellus albus*, see *al-Kudya l-Biḍā*  
*monticellus Churdi*, see *Kudyat Khurud*  
*monticellus filii salumi*, see *Kudyat Ibn*  
*Ṣalūmū*  
*monticellus fovearum*, see *Kudyat al-*  
*Muṭāmīr*  
*monticellus grandiori*, see *al-Kudya l-*  
*Kabīra*  
*monticellus serpentum*, see *Kudyat al-*  
*Hināš*  
*monticellus vulturum*, see *Kudyat al-*  
*Nusūr*  
*monticulus chagi*, see *Kudyat al-Hāġġ*  
*monticulus chuit*, see *Kudyat Khurud*  
*monticulus cutunie*, see *Kudyat al-Quṭnīya*  
*monticulus dabackie*, see *Kudyat al-*  
*Dibāġa*  
*monticulus eben kallele*, see *Kudyat Bin*  
*Q.lāla*  
*monticulus edin briace*, see *Kudyat*  
*Haddādīn B.rīyāġa*  
*monticulus fovearum*, see *Kudyat al-*  
*Muṭāmīr*  
*monticulus henred*, see *Kudyat Hannād*  
*monticulus luporum*, see *Kudyat al-Lubūb*  
*monticulus parvum*, see *al-Kudya al-Latīfa*  
*monticulus petri, fons*, see *ʿAyn Kudyat*  
*Bāṭrū*  
*monticulus rotundo*, see *Kudyat al-*  
*Mudawwar*  
*monticulus Sellebe*, see *Kudyat al-Sallāba*  
*monticulus serpentum*, see *Kudyat al-*  
*Hināš*  
*monticulus vulturum*, see *Kudyat al-Nusūr*  
*mortille, fons*, see *ʿUyūn al-Rayḥān*  
*al-Mudawwar*, see *Kudyat al-Mudawwar*  
*mudica sicalbe*, see *Maḍīq al-Ṣaġāliba*  
*mudica ubi stillat aqua*, see *al-maḍīq al-*  
*laḍī fi-hi al-sayyālī*  
*mudica yad*, see *Maḍīq ʿIyāḍ*  
*mufarrig al-mā* (Corleone- magna divisa) >  
*ubi evacuatur aqua*  
*mubeyb*, see *al-M.kīb*  
*al-mukhriza*, see *al-ḥaġar al-mukhriza*  
*multaqan* (Iato- magna divisa) > *concursum*  
*muralium*, see *al-sūr*  
*muram*, see *al-Murra*  
*murrum*, see *al-M.r*  
*murus Ieuni*, see *ḥāyīt al-ġūn*  
*murus parci*, see *ḥawz al-Mabānī*  
*muštātāb šāʿira* (Iato- magna divisa) >  
*metetabseyru*  
*al-mustaġilla* (Hadd al-ribāʿ al-diwāniya) >  
*musticella*  
*musticella*, see *al-mustaġilla*  
*al-Mutāwī*, see *Raḥl al-Mutāwī*  
*N.fāt*, see *Bū N.fāt*  
*N.ġfūr*, see *Ḥaġar Ibn N.ġfūr & Wādī*  
*N.ġfūr*  
*al-N.rġisiya*, see *ḥiṣṣat al-N.rġisa*  
*nadur elgurab*, see *Nāzūr al-Gurāb*  
*Nadur*, see *al-Naṭūr*  
*narcisia, cultura*, see *ḥiṣṣat al-N.rġisiya*  
*Naṣr*, see *Manzil Naṣr*  
*al-našāʿa* (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *no equivalent*  
*al-naṭūr* (al-Q.mīt) > *Nadur*  
*nāzūr al-Gurāb* (Corleone- magna divisa)  
 > *nadur elgurab*  
*nefri (sic), lapides*, see *Ḥiġār al-N.fzī*  
*nefzi, lapides*, see *Ḥiġār al-N.fzī*  
*neme, petra*, see *Ḥaġar Niʿma*  
*nemoris magni, altera*, see *Šaraf al-Šaʿrā l-*  
*Kabīra*  
*nemus*, see *al-šaʿra*  
*Niʿma*, see *Ḥaġar Niʿma*  
*nichifori, flumen*, see *Wādī N.ġfūr*  
*nichiforii, petra filii*, see *Ḥaġar Ibn N.ġfūr*  
*nigri, spelunca*, see *Ġār al-Aswad*  
*al-Niლაġ*, see *ḥiṣṣat al-niლაġ*  
*nilig, cultura*, see *ḥiṣṣat al-niლაġ*  
*notarii Leonis, vinea*, see *ġinān al-kātīb*  
*Lāw*  
*notarii, vallones*, see *Khandaq Karrām*  
*nusayr, menzel*, see *Manzil Naṣr*  
*al-Nusūr*, see *ʿAyn al-Nusūr*  
*al-Nusūr*, see *Kudyat al-Nusūr*

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- occisi, sepultura*, see *Qabr al-Qatīl*  
*occisi, vallones*, see *Khandaq al-Qatīl*  
*palumbu, vallones*, see *Khandaq B.ln.bū*  
*pannorum, fons*, see *‘Ayn al-Khurūq*  
*Panormus*, see *al-Madīna*  
*parci, murum*, see *gūn al-Mannānī*  
*parricla*, see *zawǧ*  
*partenici*, see *B.r̄.nīq*  
*pastoris, casale*, see *Rahl al-Rā’ī*  
*pastoris, lapides*, see *ḥadd Ḥiǧār al-Rā’ī*  
*pastoris, petris*, see *Aḥǧār al-Rā’ī*  
*pede rotunde*, see *riǧl al-mudawwara*  
*per aquam aquam*, see *al-mā l-mā*  
*per aqueductum aqueductum*, see *al-maǧrī l-maǧrī*  
*per cristam cristam*, see *al-ṣulb al-ṣulb*  
*per cristam cristam*, see *al-ṣulb al-ṣulb*  
*per cristam cristam*, see *al-šaraf al-šaraf*  
*per cursum cursum*, see *al-ǧarī l-maǧrī*  
*per ductum ductum aque*, see *al-maǧrī l-maǧrī*  
*per fluctum fluctum aque*, see *al-maǧrī l-maǧrī*  
*per gibbum gibbum*, see *al-ḥudb al-ḥudb*  
*per montem montem*, see *al-ḥārik al-ḥārik*  
*per montem montem*, see *al-ǧabal al-ǧabal*  
*per murum murum*, see *al-ḥāyiṭ al-ḥāyiṭ*  
*per pedem montis pedem montis*, see *riǧl al-ǧabal riǧl al-ǧabal*  
*per publicam publicam*, see *al-maḥaǧǧa l-maḥaǧǧa*  
*per rivulum rivulum*, see *al-maǧrī l-maǧrī*  
*per serram serram*, see *al-minšār al-minšār*  
*per serram serram*, see *al-ṣulb al-ṣulb*  
*per serram serram*, see *al-šaraf al-šaraf*  
*per terterum terterum*, see *al-ḥārik al-ḥārik*  
*per vallonem vallonem*, see *al-khandaq al-khandaq*  
*per viam viam*, see *al-maḥaǧǧa l-maḥaǧǧa & al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq*  
*per/cum flumen flumen*, see *al-wādī l-wādī*  
*perforata, petra*, see *rābi’ ḥaǧar maṭqūba*  
*perisio*, see *B.r.zū*  
*permenin*, see *al-B.rmānīn*  
*permeninum*, see *al-B.rmānīn*  
*petra alba*, see *al-ḥaǧār al-bidā & ḥiǧār bīd*  
*petra aquile*, see *Ḥaǧār al-‘Uqāb*  
*petra billienem*, see *Ḥaǧār Ibn Liyāna*  
*petra budre*, see *Šakhrat Tawd.r*  
*petra cathanie*, see *Ḥiǧār Qaṭānīya*  
*petra crucis*, see *Ḥaǧār al-Šalīb*  
*petra ebiagine*, see *Ḥaǧār Ibn ‘Aǧīna*  
*petra edere*, see *Ḥaǧār al-Arāk*  
*petra filii nichiforii*, see *Ḥaǧār Ibn N.ǧfūr*  
*petra iacob, mandra*, see *al-marḥala al-lati tasmā Ḥiǧār Ya’qūb*  
*petra ieras*, see *Ḥaǧār Ġārāš*  
*petra longa*, see *al-Ḥaǧār al-Tawīl*  
*petra magna*, see *al-ḥaǧār al-kabīr & al-ḥiǧār al-kibār*  
*petra maymoni*, see *Ḥaǧār Maymūn*  
*petra neme*, see *Ḥaǧār Ni’ma*  
*petra parva*, see *al-ḥaǧār al-saǧīr*  
*petra perforata*, see *rābi’ ḥaǧar maṭqūba*  
*petra quasi charassata*, see *al-ḥaǧār al-mukhriza*  
*petra sabat*, see *Ḥiǧār al-Šubāt*  
*petra, vallones*, see *Khandaq al-B.trā*  
*petrae apium*, see *Ḥiǧār al-Naḥl*  
*petrae cathanie*, see *Ḥiǧār Qaṭānīya*  
*petrae magnae*, see *al-ḥiǧār al-kibār*  
*petrae pastoris*, see *Aḥǧār al-Rā’ī*  
*petrae rubeae*, see *al-ḥiǧār al-ḥumr*  
*petrae rufae*, see *al-ḥiǧār al-ḥumr*  
*petrae sell ]*, see *Ḥiǧār Šalīm*  
*petri, ecclesia*, see *al-k.nīsyā Bātrū*  
*petri, fons monticuli*, see *‘Ayn Kudyat Bātrū*  
*petri, monticulus*, see *Kudyat Bātrū*  
*petri, porta sancti*, see *Bāb Bū Šant Bātrū*  
*petrosi, terterum*, see *al-Ḥārik al-Maḥǧīr*  
*phitile, cultura filiorum*, see *ḥiṣṣat awlād al-Fatīla*  
*pirerii, fons*, see *‘Ayn al-Inǧāša*  
*pirerium*, see *al-inǧāša*  
*pitra, vallones*, see *Khandaq al-B.trā*  
*planicie, caput*, see *Rahl al-Waṭā*  
*planicies abdeluehet*, see *Walaǧat ‘Abd al-Wāḥid*  
*planum aquosum*, see *al-walaǧa l-marǧ*  
*planum filii deidami*, see *Walaǧat Ibn al-Dīd.mī*  
*planum*, see *al-waṭā, al-marǧ & al-walaǧa*  
*pomerii, fons*, see *‘Ayn al-Tuffāḥa*  
*pons*, see *al-qanṭara*  
*porta adrius*, see *Bāb al-Drīyūs*  
*porta benkays*, see *Bāb bin Qays*  
*porta biezer*, see *Bāb al-B.yāz.ra*  
*porta caprificus*, see *Bāb al-Ḍukkāra*  
*porta dardar Ambrun*, see *Bāb Dardār ‘Amrūn*  
*porta Gar filii zedun*, see *Bāb Ġār Ibn Zaydūn*  
*porta putei elserref*, see *Bāb Bīr al-Šārīf*

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- porta putei*, see *Bāb al-Bīr*  
*porta sancti petri*, see *Bāb Bū Šant Bātrū*  
*porta venti*, see *Bāb al-Riḥ*  
*porta*, see *al-bāb*  
*pratum abdella*, see *Marğ ‘Abdallāh*  
*pratum hedorum*, see *Marğ al-Ġidyān*  
*pratum kallele*, see *marğ Qallāla*  
*pratum karenc*, see *Marğ al-Karnak*  
*pratum*, see *marğ*  
*presbiteri Salomonis*, see *al-qissīs Salmūn*  
*principium divisa*, see *auwal al-ḥadd*  
*proculus*, see *B.r.q.lūs*  
*putei Beneatik*, see *Bīr Ibn ‘Atīq*  
*putei elseref*, *porta*, see *Bāb Bīr al-Šarīf*  
*putei serpentum, terterum*, see *Hārik Bīr al-Ḥināš*  
*putei, porta*, see *Bāb al-Bīr*  
*puteus bahagar*, see *Bīr Bū Hağar*  
*puteus balneatoris*, see *Bīr al-Ḥammāmī*  
*puteus filii eatik*, see *Bīr Ibn ‘Atīq*  
*puteus filii ioseph*, see *Bīr Ibn Yūsuf*  
*puteus zucaki*, see *Bīr al-Zuqāq*  
*puteus*, see *al-Bīr*  
*Q.b.r.š*, see *Wādī Q.b.r.š*  
*al-Qallāla*, see *Khandaq al-Qallāla*  
*Qallāla*, see *marğ Qallāla*  
*al-Q.lr’a* (Mārtū) > *Kulea*  
*al-Q.lr’a* (Raḥl Laq.mūqa) > *culeia*  
*Q.mğa* (Battallaro) > *comiziia*  
*al-Q.q.bāw* (Raḥl ‘Amrūn) > *caccabei*  
*al-Q.r.yānī* (Calatrasi) > *karien[us]*  
*al-Q.r.yānī* (Iato- magna divisa) > *karienu[s]*  
*al-Q.r.yānī* (Malbīt) > *karien[us]*  
*Q.rüb.n.š* (Manzil K.r.š.nī) > *Corubnis*  
*Q.rüb.n.š* (Q.rüb.n.š) > *corup(/b)nis*  
*Q.rüb.n.š*, see *Wādī Q.rüb.n.š*  
*al-Q.šārī* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *cassarum*  
*Q.sṭ.na* (Ġališu) > *castana*  
*Q.ṭiya* (Raḥl al-Būqāl) > *cuttie*  
*Q.ṭiya*, see *Raḥl Q.ṭiya*  
*qabr* (Usbiṭāl Šantağnī) > *sepultura*  
*Qabr al-Qatīl* (Usbiṭāl Šantağnī) > *sepultura occisi*  
*al-Qadīma* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *vetus*  
*al-Qadīma* (Iato- magna divisa) > *cadime*  
*al-Qadīma* (Ġališu) > *ad istam divisam* (sic)  
*al-Qadīma*, see *al-Wazzān al-Qadīma* & *Raḥl W.r.sīn al-Qadīma*  
*al-Qāl.bū* (Battallaro) > *calvus*  
*qal’at* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *Kala*  
*Qal’at ‘Alī* (Battallaro) > *Kalatabali*  
*Qal’at ‘Alī* (Calatrasi) > *kalatabali*  
*Qal’at Bū Samra* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *Kala busamara*  
*Qal’at Fīmī* (Iato- magna divisa) > *kalatefim*  
*Qal’at Ġālišu* (Ġališu) > *Calat Ialci*  
*Qal’at Ġāṭū* (al-Ġār) > *Kalaa iati*  
*Qal’at Ġāṭū* (Manzil ‘Abd al-Raḥmān) > *cala iati*  
*Qal’at Mawrū* (Battallaro) > *kalatamauru*, *kalata mauru*, *kalata Mauru*, *kalatamauru*  
*Qal’at al-Ṭrazī* (Calatrasi) > *Kalatarasi* & *kalatarasi*  
*Qal’at Ṭrazī* (Iato- magna divisa) > *kalatrasi*  
*Qal’at Ṭrazī*, see also *Wādī Qal’at Ṭrazī*  
*al-Qallāla* (Mağnūğa) > *mons kallele*  
*al-Qallāla* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *kallele*  
*al-Qallāla*, see *Raḥl al-Qallāla*  
*Qannaš* (Battallaro) > *cannes*  
*al-qanṭara* (Manzil ‘Abdallāh) > *pons*  
*al-qanṭara* (Manzil K.r.š.nī) > *pons*  
*al-qanṭara* (Raḥl Ibn Sahl) > *pons*  
*al-Qarabūsiya* (Sūm.nī) > *carbusia*  
*al-Qaṣab*, see *Khandaq al-Qaṣab*  
*al-Qaṣaba* (Battallaro) > *casba*  
*al-Qaṣaba*, see *Fawwārat al-Qaṣaba*  
*al-Qaṣārī* (Battallaro) > *Cassarii*  
*al-Qaṣr* (al-Duqqī) > *helcasar*  
*al-Qaṣṣār*, see *Wādī l-Qaṣṣār*  
*al-Qaṣṣārī* (bayn Raḥl Marāwis wa-bayn Bū Kināna) > *caesarium*  
*Qāsīm*, see *Manzil Qāsīm*  
*Qāsīm*, see *Marğ Qāsīm*  
*al-Qatīl*, see *Khandaq al-Qatīl* & *Qabr al-Qatīl*  
*al-Qā’id Yaḥyā* (Malbīt) > *gaytus yhie*  
*al-Qilla*, see *Ra’s al-Qilla*  
*al-qissīs Salmūn* (Calatrasi) > *presbiteri Salomonis*  
*al-Qumayṭ* (Mağnūğa) > *cumeyt*  
*al-Qunzarra* (Iato- magna divisa) > *culmen*  
*Qurulūn* (Battallaro) > *Corilionis*  
*Qurulūn* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *Corilionis*  
*Qurulūn* (Iato- magna divisa) > *Corilionis*  
*Qurulūn*, see also *šāhib Qurulūn*  
*Qurulūn*, see also *Wādī Qurulūn*

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- Qusanṭīn*, see *rab*<sup>c</sup> *Qusanṭīn*  
*al-Quṭnīya*, see *Kudyat al-Quṭnīya*  
*al-R.khū*, see *Ġabal al-R.khū* & *ra*'s *Bū l-R.khū*  
*al-Rā'ī*, see *Aḥḡār al-Rā'ī*  
*al-Rā'ī*, see *Raḥl al-Rā'ī*  
*ra*'s *ʿAqabat al-Tafl* (Battallaro) > *caput montane crete*  
*ra*'s *ʿAqabat al-Tafl* (Calatrasi) > *spelunca crete*  
*ra*'s *al-andar* (Calatrasi) > *caput aree*  
*ra*'s *Arnū* (Ġāliṣu) > *caput herneu*  
*ra*'s *Bū Labbād* (Malbīt) > *caput bulebede*  
*ra*'s *Bū l-Rukhū*, see *ra*'s *Bū l-Rukhū*  
*ra*'s *al-Ġ.rḡ.r* (Raḥl al-Balāt) > *caput IurIur*  
*ra*'s *al-ḡabal* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *caput montis*  
*ra*'s *al-ḡabal* (Iato- magna divisa) > *cacumina montis*  
*ra*'s *Ġabal al-M.rṣūṣ* (Ġ.ṭīna) > *marsus*  
*ra*'s *al-Kamīn* (Battallaro) > *caput ghemi, chemino, caput elchemin*  
*ra*'s *al-Qilla* (Raḥl al-K.lā'ī) > *caput culle*  
*ra*'s *al-qulī'a* (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *caput coleya*  
*ra*'s *Š.l.n.da* (Raḥl Ibn Sahl) > *caput Selende*  
*ra*'s *stīyāḡ al-ḡinān* (Calatrasi) > *caput fossati vinee*  
*ra*'s *al-ṭawīla* (Iato- magna divisa) > *capud longum*  
*ra*'s *Wādī Š.nt.ḡnī* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *caput fluminis sanctagni*  
*ra*'s *al-waṭa'* (Battallaro) > *in caput plani al-rab*<sup>c</sup> (Calatrasi) > *terra laboratoriam*  
*rab*<sup>c</sup> *abl Manzil ʿAbdallāh* (Malbīt) > *terrae miselabdella*  
*rab*<sup>c</sup> *awlād ʿAbdallāh* (Iato- magna divisa) > *terra filiorum abdella*  
*rab*<sup>c</sup> *Bū ʿAḡīna* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *cultura buagine*  
*rab*<sup>c</sup> *al-Ġanawī* (Malbīt) > *ianuensi*  
*rab*<sup>c</sup> *al-Ġanawī* (Sūm.nī) > *cultura ianuensis*  
*rab*<sup>c</sup> *al-Mišāt* (al-Andulsīn) > *terra massat*  
*rab*<sup>c</sup> *al-Mišāt* (Q.rūb.nš al-Suflā) > *terra massat*  
*rab*<sup>c</sup> *Qusanṭīn* (Iato- magna divisa) > *terra Constantini*  
*rab*<sup>c</sup> *Šantaḡnī* (al-Duqqī) > *terra santagani*  
*rabi*<sup>c</sup> *ḡaḡar maṭqūba* (Usbiṭal Šantaḡnī) > *petra perforata*  
*Rabi*<sup>c</sup>, see *Wādī Rabi*<sup>c</sup>  
*radix bengarrak*, see *aṣl Ibn Ġarrāḡ al-Rāḡ*, see *Ġabal al-Rāḡ*  
*rahabi, flumen*, see *Wādī Rabi*<sup>c</sup>  
*Rahal Allum*, see *Raḥl ʿAmrūn*  
*Rahalabdella*, see *Raḥl ʿAbdallāh*  
*Rahalamrun, Divisa*, see *Raḥl ʿAmrūn*  
*Rahalbahari, iurfo*, see *ḡurf Raḥl Baḡrī*  
*Rahalbahari*, see *Raḥl Baḡrī*  
*Rahalbalata*, see *Raḥl al-Balāt*  
*Rahalbeligi, mons*, see *Ġabal Raḥl B.līḡ*  
*Rahalbensahal, Divisa*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl Ibn Sahl*  
*rahalbukal, Divisa*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl al-Būqāl*  
*rahalbukal*, see *Raḥl al-Būqāl*  
*Rahalfarrug*, see *Raḥl al-Farrūḡ*  
*rahalgalid, Divisa*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl al-Ġalīḡ*  
*rahalgalid*, see *Raḥl al-Ġalīḡ*  
*Rahalgidit, Divisa*, see *Ḥadd al-Raḥl al-Ġadīd*  
*Rahalieus*, see *Raḥl al-Ġawz*  
*rahalketab ioseph, divisa*, see *ḡadd Raḥl al-Kātīb Yūsuf*  
*rahalmie*, see *Ġafla (sic)*  
*Rahalmie*, see *Raḥl al-Māya*  
*Rahalmud*, see *Raḥl al-M.dd*  
*rahaltauri, flumen*, see *Wādī Raḥl al-Taur*  
*Rahaltor*, see *Raḥl al-Taur*  
*Rahalumur*, see *Raḥl al-Ḥumūr*  
*rahaluta, flumen*, see *Wādī Raḥl al-Waṭā*  
*Rahaluta*, see *Raḥl al-Waṭā*  
*Rahalygeus, Divisa*, see *Ḥadd Raḥl al-Ġawz*  
*Rahalzamur*, see *Raḥl Zumūr*  
*Raḥl ʿAbd al-A'lā* (Dasīsa) > *casale abdellale*  
*Raḥl ʿAbdallāh* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *Rahalabdella*  
*Raḥl ʿAmmār* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *casale amarii*  
*Raḥl ʿAmrūn* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *Rahal Allum*  
*Raḥl ʿAmrūn* (Raḥl ʿAmrūn) > *Divisa Rahalamrun*  
*Raḥl ʿAmrūn* (Raḥl al-S.kāk) > *casale Amrun*  
*Raḥl B.līḡ* (Iato- magna divisa) > *casale belich*  
*Raḥl B.līḡ*, see *Ġabal Raḥl B.līḡ*  
*Raḥl B.lmīḡ* (Calatrasi) > *casale palamiz*



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- Raḥl Bahrī* (Corleone- magna divisa) >  
*Rahabbari*
- Raḥl Bahrī* (Iato- magna divisa) >  
*Rahabbari*
- Raḥl al-Balāt* (Raḥl al-Balāt) >  
*Rahabbalata* & *casale balat*
- Raḥl al-Balāt* (Raḥl al-M.dd) > *casale*  
*balate* & *Rahabbalata*
- Raḥl Bāyān D.Ġ.ġ* (Calatrasi) > *casale*  
*pagani de gorgia*
- Raḥl al-Būqāl* (Raḥl B.ġānū) > *casale bucal*
- Raḥl al-Būqāl* (Raḥl al-Būqāl) >  
*rahalbukal*
- Raḥl al-Būr* (Battallaro) > *casale helbur*
- Raḥl al-D.šišī* (Ġālišu) > *casale dichichi*
- Raḥl al-Dab.l* (Ġār Šaʿb) > *casale dubel*
- Raḥl al-Farrūġ* (Manzil K.r.š.nī) >  
*Rahalfarrug*
- Raḥl al-Ġalīz* (Q.rüb.nš al-Suflā) > *casale*  
*galid*
- Raḥl al-Ġalīz* (Raḥl al-Ġalīz) > *rahalgald*
- Raḥl al-Humur* (Iato- magna divisa) >  
*Rahalumur*
- Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka* (Dasīsa) > *casale Benbark*
- Raḥl Ibn Ġ.r.k* (Calatrasi) > *casale filii*  
*goroc*
- Raḥl Ibn Sahl* (Manzil ʿAbdallāh) > *casale*  
*bensyel*
- Raḥl Ibn Sahl* (Raḥl Ibn Sahl) > *casale*  
*bensehel*
- Raḥl al-Ġawz* (Raḥl al-Ġawz) > *Rahaliens*
- Raḥl al-Kātib Yūsuf*, see *ḥadd Raḥl al-*  
*Kātib Yūsuf*
- Raḥl al-Khayyāt* (Q.rub.n.š) > *casale*  
*sutoris*
- Raḥl al-M.dd* (Raḥl al-M.dd) > *casale*  
*modii* & *Rahalmud*
- Raḥl al-M.dd* (Raḥl al-S.kāk) > *Rahalmud*
- Raḥl al-Maʿaz* (Iato- magna divisa) > *mons*  
*caprarum*
- Raḥl al-Māya* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *Rahalmie*
- Raḥl al-Māya* (Raḥl al-Māya) > *rahalmie*
- Raḥl al-Mutāwī* (Ġālišu) > *casale metuey*
- Raḥl Q.ṭīya* (Sūm.nī) > *casale cuttaie*
- Raḥl al-Rāʿī* (Raḥl al-Ġalīz) > *casale*  
*pastoris*
- Raḥl al-Randa* (Raḥl al-Ġawz) > *casale*  
*rande*
- Raḥl al-S.kāk* (Dasīsa) > *casale sikkeki*
- Raḥl Šāfi* (Iato- magna divisa) > *casale safi*
- Raḥl al-Tawr* (Corleone- magna divisa) >  
*Rahaltor*
- Raḥl al-Tawr*, see *Wādī Raḥl al-Tawr*
- Raḥl W.r.sīn al-Qadīma* (Iato- magna  
divisa) > *casale ursine veteris*
- Raḥl al-Wālī* (Iato- magna divisa) > *casale*  
*ueli*
- Raḥl al-Waṭā* (Raḥl al-Balāt) > *Rahaluta*
- Raḥl al-Waṭā* > *caput planicie*
- Raḥl al-Waṭā*, see also *Wādī Raḥl al-Waṭā*
- Raḥl Zumūr* (Manzil K.r.š.nī) >  
*Rahalzamur*
- Raġā*, see *ḥufrat Ibn Raġā*
- al-Rāġil*, see *Hiġār al-Rāġil*
- al-Raml*, see *Kudyat al-Raml*
- al-Randa* (Iato- magna divisa) > *Rande*
- al-Randa* (al-Randa) > *rande*
- Randi*, *cultura filii*, see *ḥiṣṣat Ibn al-Randi*
- raqaba* (Ḥaġar al-Zanāti) > *caput*  
*raqabat al-ġinān* (Ḥaġar al-Zanāti) > *caput*  
*vinee*
- al-raqīq*, see *al-khandaq al-raqīq*
- Raqla* (Mārtū) > *herculi*
- Raqla*, see also *Burġ Raqla*, *Fawwārat*  
*Raqla* & *Kbuṭāt al-Raql*
- Rāyā* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *Raya*
- Rāyā* (Ġālišu) > *Raya*
- Raya*, see *Rāyā*
- al-Rayḥān*, see *ʿUyūn al-Rīḥān*
- Rayonis Kerram*, see *Riynūn Karrān*
- rescalla*, *strictum*, see *maḍīq Ibn Rizq*  
*Allāh*
- ribāʿ ahl Manzil ʿAbdallāh*, see *rabaʿ ahl*  
*Manzil ʿAbdallāh*
- ribāʿ Ibn ʿUqāba* (Corleone- magna divisa)  
> *terra benhuKcabe*
- ribāʿ Sāġ.nū* (Iato- magna divisa) > *terrae*  
*sagani*
- ribāʿ Sāġ.nū*, see *ribāʿ Sāġ.nū*
- ribāʿ Šantagnī*, see *rabaʿ Šantagnī*
- ribāʿ al-Wazzān* (Ḥadd al-rabʿ bi-yad  
Ruhbān K.nīsyā al-H.rh.r) > *casale*  
*huzen*
- ribāʿ al-Wazzān*, see *rabaʿ al-Wazzān*
- al-Riḥ*, see *Bāb al-Riḥ*
- al-Riḥ*, see *Hārik al-Riḥ*
- riġāl al-Dīwān al-Maʿmūr* (Malbīt) >  
*homines duane*
- riġāl al-Dīwān al-Maʿmūr* (Raḥl  
Laq.mūqa) > *homines duane*
- riġāl Laq.mūqa* (Raḥl Laq.mūqa) >  
*lacusucka*
- riġl al-ġabal riġl al-ġabal* (Ġālišu) > *per*  
*pedem montis pedem montis*

APPENDIX A

- riġl al-mudawwara* (Malbīt) > *pede rotunde*  
*riġl al-Qallāla* (al-Duqqī) > *elkallele*  
*riġl al-Qallāla*, see also *Khandaq bin al-Aḥsan*  
*rivulum summini*, see *sāqīyat Sūm.nī Riynūn Karrān* (Calatrasi) > *Rayonis Kerram*  
*Rizq Allāb*, see *maḍīq Ibn Rizq Allāb*  
*rocca Eddis*, see *Ruqqat al-Dīs*  
*rocca*, see *Ruqqa*  
*rotunde, pede*, see *riġl al-mudawwara*  
*rotundo, monticulus*, see *Kudyat al-Mudawwar*  
*rubbet, altera*, see *Kudyat al-Raml rubeos, lapides*, see *al-ḥiġār al-ḥumr*  
*rubeti, fons*, see *‘Ayn al-‘Ullayqa*  
*rubus*, see *al-‘ullayq*  
*al-rubwa* (Raḥl al-Būqāl) > *altera rucusi, hericusī*, see *al-Z.kūšī al-Rudaymī* (Battallaro) > *rudeinu, rudeymu rudeinu, rudeymu*, see *al-Rudaynī*  
*rufas, petrae*, see *al-ḥiġār al-ḥumr*  
*ruinae desertae veteris briace*, see *khirab B.riyāqa al-Qadīma*  
*ruinosa eius*, see *Khirbat ‘Ayn Hasan al-Rūmī*, see *Khandaq al-Rūmī*  
*rumi, vallones*, see *Khandaq al-Rūmī*  
*rupis karieni*, see *Ġurf al-Q.r.yānī*  
*rupium, fons*, see *‘Uyūn al-Iġrāk*  
*Ruq‘at al-Aškālīya*, see *Marḥalat Ruq‘at al-Aškālīya*  
*Ruqqa* (al-Gār) > *rocca*  
*al-Ruqqa* (Raḥl al-Gawz) > *castellum*  
*Ruqqat Antallah* (Battallaro) > *castellum hantella*  
*Ruqqat al-Dīs* (al-Gār) > *rocca Eddis al-sidra* (Iato- magna divisa) > *sedra al-sidra* (al-Maġāġī) > *altera sinu montis al-S.kāk* (Dasīsa) > *sikkeki*  
*al-S.kāk* (Raḥl al-M.dd & Raḥl al-S.kāk) > *sekeki, sykeki, sykeke, sikkeki*  
*al-S.kāt.ra*, see *Gār al-S.kāt.ra*  
*al-S.mārāt* (Calatrasi) > *simarat & symarat S.nūrī* (Battallaro) > *senurio, senurium*  
*al-S.yālāt* (bayn Raḥl Marāwis wa-bayn Bū Kināna) > *Seyhelel*  
*Šāfi*, see *Raḥl Šāfi*  
*al-Šafšāf* (Iato- magna divisa) > *safsaf*  
*al-Šafšāf* (Mārtū) > *salices*  
*šāḥib Baṭṭallarū* (Battallaro) > *domini battallarū*  
*šāḥib Malbīt* (Malbīt) > *dominus malviti*  
*šāḥib Qurulūn* (Iato- magna divisa) > *dominus corilionis*  
*šakhrat Tawd.r* (Iato- magna divisa) > *petra budre*  
*al-šalīb* (Battallaro) > *via ipsa intersecat aliam viam*  
*al-Salīb*, see *Haġar al-Šalīb*  
*Šāliḥ*, see *Manzil Šāliḥ*  
*Šalūmū*, see *Kudyat Ibn Šalūmū*  
*al-Šaqāliba*, see *Maḍīq al-Šaqāliba*  
*al-Šiqillī*, see *Marḥalat al-Šiqillī*  
*al-šulb al-šulb* (Battallaro) > *per serram*  
*al-šulb al-šulb* (Iato- magna divisa) > *per cristam cristam*  
*al-šulb al-šulb* (Usbiṭāl Šantaġnī) > *per cristam cristam*  
*šulb al-šārif* (al-Duqqī) > *crista elseref saaria*, see *al-ša‘riya*  
*sabat, petra*, see *Ḥiġār al-Šubāt*  
*sabat, vallo lapis*, see *Khandaq Ḥiġār al-Šubāt*  
*Sabāya*, see *Wādī Sabāya*  
*sabuci, arbores*, see *ašġār sābūq*  
*sabuci, canale*, see *Mizāb al-Sābūqa*  
*sābūq*, see *ašġār sābūq*  
*al-Sābūqa*, see *Mizāb al-Sābūqa*  
*sadd maṭḥanat Qal‘at ‘Alī* (Calatrasi) > *ductum molendini kalatabali*  
*safsaf*, see *al-Šafšāf*  
*Sāg.nū* (Iato- magna divisa) > *saganum*  
*sagani, terrae*, see *ribā‘ Sāg.nū*  
*saganum*, see *Sāg.nū*  
*al-saġir*, see *al-khandaq al-saġir*  
*Saban, fons*, see *‘Ayn al-Šaḥim*  
*Salāma*, see *Haġar Salāma*  
*salices*, see *al-Šafšāf*  
*Salla*, see *Wādī Salla*  
*al-Sallāba*, see *Kudyat al-Sallāba*  
*al-Sallāḥ*, see *Khandaq al-Sallāḥ*  
*Salmūn*, see *al-qissīs Salmūn*  
*salumi, monticellus filii*, see *Kudyat Ibn Šalūmū*  
*al-samār* (Calatrasi) > *symar*  
*al-samār*, see *‘Ayn al-Samār*  
*Samra*, see *Qal‘at Bū Samra*  
*sanctagni, fons/fons magnus*, see *al-‘Ayn al-Kabīra al-ma‘rūfa bi-‘Ayn Šantaġnī l-Mašbūra*  
*Sancte Agnes, hospitalis*, see *Ḥadd Ribā‘ Usbiṭāl Šantaġnī*  
*Sancte Agnes*, see *Šantaġnī*

APPENDIX A

- sancti petri, porta*, see *Bāb Bū Šant Bātrū santaganem*, see *Šantağnī*  
*santagnes*, see *Šantağnī*  
*sāqiyat Sūm.nī* (al-Mağāğī) > *rivulum summini*  
*saraf, vallones*, see *Khandaq Šaraf al-sarğ* > *sellam*  
*al-Sarrāq*, see *Hağar al-Sarrāq al-sawākh* (Calatrasi) > *dirroitum al-sawākh* (Hağar al-Zanātī) > *diroiti al-sawākh* (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *dirreytum al-sayyālī*, see *maḥḥanat al-sayyālī*  
*scala mertu*, see *darğat Mārtū scala veteris briace*, see *darğat B.rīyāqa al-Qadīma*  
*scaragium*, see *Isqrāğū*  
*sciacca*, see *al-Šāqqa*  
*scutiferorum, spelunca*, see *Ġār al-S.kāt.ra sedra*, see *al-sidra*  
*seitet, gadir*, see *Ġadīr Sittāt sekeki*, see *al-S.kāk*  
*sella*, see *al-burğ*  
*sella*, see *al-sarğ*  
*Sellebe, monticulus*, see *Kudyat al-Sallāba sellem, lapis*, see *Hağar Salāma sellha, vallone*, see *Khandaq al-Sallāh seneti, haiar*, see *Hağar al-Zanātī senurio, senurium*, see *S.nūrī*  
*sepultura occisi*, see *Qabr al-Qatīl*  
*sepultura*, see *qabr*  
*serpentum, monticellus*, see *Kudyat al-Hināš*  
*serpentum, terterum putei*, see *Hārik Bīr al-Hināš*  
*servi, vallones*, see *khandaq al-ğulām seuden, altera Gadyr*, see *al-šaraf Ġadīr al-Sūdān*  
*Seyhelel*, see *al-S.yālāt*  
*Š.l.n.da*, see *Ra's Š.l.n.da*  
*Š.nt.ğnī*, see *Wādī Š.nt.ğnī*  
*Ša'ib*, see *Ġār Ša'ib*  
*al-Ša'ir*, see *walağat al-ša'ir*  
*ša'ira*, see *muštātāb ša'ira*  
*al-ša'ra* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *nemus ša'ra Ibn Dukn* (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *silve filii dikcen*  
*al-Ša'ra l-Kabīra*, see *Šaraf al-Ša'ra l-Kabīra*  
*al-ša'ra m.tā' Ibn Dukn* (Raḥl Laq.mūqa) > *silva bendicken*  
*al-ša'rīya* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *saaria*  
*Šabīb*, see *Khandaq Bin Šabīb al-Šaḥm*, see *'Ayn al-Šaḥm*  
*šağar* (Battallaro) > *ficus & arbor*  
*šağar al-tīn* (Iato- magna divisa) > *ficulnea*  
*šağrat al-tīn* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *ficulnea*  
*Šant Bātrū*, see *Bāb Bū Šant Bātrū*  
*Šantağnī* (al-Duqqī) > *santagani*  
*Šantağnī* (Iato- magna divisa) > *santagnes*  
*Šantağnī* (Mağnūğā) > *santaganem*  
*Šantağnī* (Usbiṭāl Šantağnī) > *Sancte Agnes al-Šāqqa* (Battallaro) > *sciacca*  
*al-šaraf* > *crista*  
*al-šaraf Ġadīr al-Sūdān* (Mārtū) > *altera Gadyr seuden*  
*šaraf al-Ša'ra l-Kabīra* (Dasīsa) > *altera nemoris magni*  
*al-šaraf al-šaraf* (Hağar al-Zanātī) > *per cristam cristam*  
*al-šaraf al-šaraf* (Hağar al-Zanātī) > *per serram serram*  
*Šaraf*, see also *Khandaq Šaraf*  
*šaṭab* (Battallaro) > *arbustorum*  
*al-šawk* (Raḥl al-Būqāl) > *spine*  
*al-Šaykh*, see *Khandaq al-Šaykh*  
*al-Šubāt*, see *Hağar al-Šubāt*  
*Šurb al-Laban*, see *Hağar Bāb Šurb al-Laban*  
*šuyūkh Ġātū* (Malbīt) > *veterani iati*  
*šuyūkh Ġātū* (Sūm.nī) > *veterani iati*  
*šuyūkh Qurulūn* (Malbīt) > *veterani corilionis*  
*šuyūkh Tarābnuš* (Iato- magna divisa) > *veterani trapani*  
*Sibeī, flumen*, see *Wādī Sabāya*  
*sicalbe, mudica*, see *Mađīq al-Šaqālība*  
*siculi, mandra*, see *Marḥalat al-Šiqilī*  
*sikkeki, casale*, see *Raḥl al-S.kāk*  
*sikkeki*, see *al-S.kāk*  
*silva bendicken*, see *al-ša'ra m.tā' Ibn Dukn*  
*Dukn*  
*silva*, see *al-ša'ra*  
*silvae filii dikcen*, see *ša'ra Ibn Dukn*  
*simar, fons*, see *'Ayn al-Samār*  
*simarat*, see *al-S.mārāt*  
*Sindī*, see *Manzil Sindī*  
*Sittāt*, see *Ġadīr Sittāt*  
*siyāğ* (Calatrasi) > *fossati*  
*spelti, mandra cultura*, see *Marḥalat Ruq'a al-Aškālīya*  
*spelunca backie*, see *Ġār Baqqa*  
*spelunca buhafu*, see *Ġār Bū 'Afw*

APPENDIX A

- spelunca crete*, see Ra's 'Aqabat al-Tafl  
*spelunca filii veterane*, see Gār Ibn al-  
 Aḡūz  
*spelunca ieber*, see Gār Ğābir  
*spelunca nigri*, see Gār al-Aṣwad  
*spelunca scutiferorum*, see Gār al-S.kāt.ra  
*spine*, see al-šawk  
*stiles, balata*, see Balāt Ištūl.s  
*strictum menzelleuleu*, see maḏīq Manzil  
 Lulu  
*strictum rescalla*, see maḏīq Ibn Rizq Allāh  
*strictum*, see al-maḏīq  
*al-Su'dī*, see Ğādīr al-Su'dī  
*subtilem, vallones*, see al-khandaq al-raḡīq  
*al-Sūdān*, see Ğādīr al-Sūdān  
*sulle, flumen*, see Wādī Salla  
*Sūm.nī* (al-Maḡāḡī) > *summini*  
*Sūm.nī* (Malbīt) > *summini*  
*Sūm.nī* (Raḡl al-Būqāl) > *Summenino*  
*Summenino*, see Sūm.nī  
*summini*, see Sūm.nī  
*al-sūr* (Battallaro) > *muralium*  
*surraki, lapis*, see Ḥaḡar al-Sarrāq  
*sutoris, casale*, see Raḡl al-Khayyāt  
*sutoris, terterum*, see Ḥārik al-Khayyāt  
*syeli, molendinum*, see maḥḥanat al-sayyālī  
*sykeke*, see al-S.kāk  
*Sykeki, Divisa*, see Ḥadd Raḡl al-S.kāk  
*sykeki*, see al-S.kāk  
*symar*, see al-samār  
*symarat*, see al-S.mārāt  
*Tawd.r*, see Ṣakhrat Tawd.r  
*al-Tawr*, see Raḡl al-Tawr  
*al-Ṭabrī*, see Fawwārat al-Ṭabrī  
*al-Tafl*, see Ra's 'Aqabat al-Tafl & Gār al-  
 Tafl  
*Ṭarābnuš*, see šuyūkh Ṭarābnuš  
*al-ṭarfā* (Battallaro) > *tamariscus*  
*al-ṭarfā* (Calatrasi) > *tamariscus*  
*al-Ṭarfā*, see Khandaq al-Ṭarfā  
*ṭariq al-'Askar* (Raḡl Bū F.rira) > *via*  
*exercitus*  
*ṭariq Driyāna*, see Driyāna  
*ṭariq al-Madīna* (Ḥaḡar al-Zanāti) > *via*  
*panormi*  
*ṭariq al-Madīna* (Ĝ.ṭīna) > *via panormi*  
*ṭariq Mārtū* (Ĝ.ṭīna) > *via mertu*  
*ṭariq Māzar* (Calatrasi) > *via Mazarie*  
*al-ṭariq al-qadīma Ġātū* (Sūm.nī) > *via*  
*vetus iati*  
*al-ṭariq al-qadīma li-Ġātū* (al-Maḡāḡī) >  
*vetus via iati*  
*ṭariq Qal'at Fīmī* (Q.rüb.nš al-Suflā) > *via*  
*kalatafimi*  
*al-ṭariq al-ṭariq* (passim) > *per viam viam*  
*al-Ṭawīl*, see Ḥaḡar al-Ṭawīl  
*al-Ṭrazī*, see Qal'at al-Ṭrazī  
*Ṭūt*, see Wādī Ṭūt  
*al-Taballuḡ*, see ḥiṣṣat al-Taballuḡ  
*tabri, favara*, see Fawwārat al-Ṭabrī  
*tamarici, vallones*, see Khandaq al-Ṭarfā  
*tamariscus*, see al-ṭarfā  
*tamariscus*, see al-ṭarfā  
*teblengi, cultura*, see ḥiṣṣat al-Taballuḡ  
*tenimentum iati*, see ḥawz Ġātū  
*tenimentum iati*, see Iqlim Ġātū  
*tenimentum panormi*, see ḥawz al-Madīna  
*terra benhuKcabe*, see ribā' Ibn 'Uqāba  
*terra citrinam*, see al-ard al-ṣafra  
*terra Constantini*, see rab' Qusanṭīn  
*terra filiorum abdella*, see rab' aulād  
 'Abdallāh  
*terra laboratoriam*, see al-rab'  
*terra massat*, see rab' al-Mišāt  
*terrae miselabdella*, see raba' ahl Manzil  
 'Abdallāh  
*terrae sagani*, see ribā' Sāḡ.nū  
*terre ianuensis, divisa*, see ḥadd al-Ġanawī  
*terterum amruni*, see Ḥārik 'Amrūn  
*terterum ballot*, see Ḥārik al-Ballūṭ  
*terterum ballota*, see Ḥārik al-Ballūṭa  
*terterum benhamse*, see Ḥārik bin Ḥamza  
*terterum Bumensur*, see Ḥārik Bū Mansūr  
*terterum fossarum*, see Ḥārik al-Mutāmīr  
*terterum magnum*, see al-ḥārik al-kabīr  
*terterum petrosi*, see al-Ḥārik al-Mahḡīr  
*terterum putei serpentum*, see Ḥārik Bīr al-  
 Ḥināš  
*terterum sutoris*, see Ḥārik al-Khayyāt  
*terterum turris*, see Ḥārik al-Burḡ  
*textoris, area*, see Andar al-Ḥarīrī  
*thut, flumen*, see Wādī Ṭūt  
*al-Tīn*, see Khandaq al-Tīn  
*al-tīn*, see šaḡrat al-tīn & ašḡār al-tīn  
*transitum kalatatrasi*, see maḡāz Qal'at  
 Ṭrazī  
*trapani, veterani*, see šuyūkh Ṭarābnuš  
*al-Tuffāḥa*, see 'Ayn al-Tuffāḥa  
*turris elfersi*, see Burḡ al-Fārisī  
*turris herculis*, see Burḡ Raqla  
*turris hiar*, see Burḡ al-Ḥiḡār  
*turris hiyar*, see Burḡ al-Ḥiḡār  
*turris lapis*, see Burḡ al-Ḥiḡār  
*turris mulieris*, see Burḡ al-Marā'

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- turris*, see *al-burğ*  
*turris, terterum*, see *Hārik al-Burğ*  
*ubi evacuatur aqua*, see *mufarriğ al-mā ulizeseyr*, see *Walağat al-Ša'ir*  
*Ullica, fons*, see *'Ayn al-'Ullayqa*  
*ursine veteris, casale*, see *Raḥl W.r.sīn al-Qadīma*  
*uruc, fons*, see *'Ayn al-Khurūq*  
*al-Uṣbiṭāl (Uṣbiṭāl Šantağni) > hospitalis*  
*usen, molendina*, see *maṭāḥin al-Wazzān*  
*usen*, see *al-Wazzān*  
*uzen, flumen*, see *Wādī l-Wazzān*  
*vaccarum, mandra*, see *marāḥil al-baqar*  
*vacuum*, see *al-khāli*  
*vado lacini*, see *mağāz Ġadīr al-Kattān*  
*vadum balnei*, see *mağāz al-Ḥammām*  
*vadum cannabi*, see *mağāz al-Qunnab*  
*vadum*, see *mağāz*  
*vallis granzi*, see *Khandaq al-Ġ.r.nzī*  
*vallis karram*, see *Khandaq Karrām & Khandaq al-Kātib*  
*vallo beluyini*, see *Khandaq al-B.luwīn*  
*vallo bussadaca*, see *Khandaq Bū Šadaqa*  
*vallo cephalae*, see *al-Khandaq Ġafla*  
*vallo filii labacsen*, see *Khandaq bin al-Aḥsan*  
*vallo filii labacsen*, see *Khandaq bin al-Aḥsan*  
*vallo Ġindar*, see *al-Khandaq al-K.ndār*  
*vallo hanneuie*, see *Khandaq al-Ḥanāwīya*  
*vallo lapis sabat*, see *Khandaq Hiğār al-Šubāt*  
*vallo sellha*, see *Khandaq al-Sallāḥ*  
*vallones balate*, see *Khandaq al-Balāt*  
*vallones bensebbib*, see *Khandaq Bin Šabib*  
*vallones cadaverum*, see *al-Khandaq al-Farrāš*  
*vallones cannarum*, see *Khandaq al-Qašab*  
*vallones chatab*, see *Khandaq Ḥaṭṭāb*  
*vallones ebenhaues*, see *Khandaq Ibn Hawwās*  
*vallones elgaric*, see *Khandaq al-Ġariq*  
*vallones elgarik*, see *Khandaq al-Ġariq*  
*vallones ficus*, see *Khandaq al-Tīn*  
*vallones forme*, see *Khandaq al-Frmā*  
*vallones fuliet*, see *Khandaq al-Fūliyāt*  
*vallones Garlic*, see *Khandaq al-Ġariq*  
*vallones Garik*, see *al-Khandaq al-Ġariq*  
*vallones hanneuie*, see *Khandaq al-Ḥanāwīya*  
*vallones iudeorum*, see *Khandaq al-Yabūd*  
*vallones Kallele*, see *Khandaq al-Qallāla*  
*vallones lachasen*, see *Khandaq al-Aḥsan*  
*vallones lupi*, see *Khandaq al-Lubb*  
*vallones mertu*, see *Khandaq Mārtū*  
*vallones notarii*, see *Khandaq Karrām*  
*vallones occisi*, see *Khandaq al-Qatīl*  
*vallones palumbu*, see *Khandaq B.ln.bū*  
*vallones parvum*, see *al-khandaq al-sağīr & khandaq sağīr*  
*vallones petra*, see *Khandaq al-B.trā*  
*vallones pitra*, see *Khandaq al-B.trā*  
*vallones rumi*, see *Khandaq al-Rūmī*  
*vallones saraf*, see *Khandaq Šaraf*  
*vallones servi*, see *khandaq al-ğulām*  
*vallones subtilem*, see *al-khandaq al-rağiq*  
*vallones tamarici*, see *Khandaq al-Ṭarfā*  
*vallones veterani*, see *Khandaq al-Šaykh*  
*vallones vitis*, see *Khandaq al-Dālīya*  
*vallones*, see *al-khandaq al-khandaq*  
*venti, mons*, see *Hārik al-Riḥ*  
*veterani corilionis*, see *šuyūkh Qurulūm*  
*veterani iati*, see *šuyūkh Ġaṭū*  
*veterani trapani*, see *šuyūkh Ṭarābnūs*  
*veterani, vallones*, see *Khandaq al-Šaykh*  
*veterem viam iati*, see *al-ṭariq al-qadīma li-Ġaṭū*  
*veteris briace, scala*, see *darğat B.riyāqa al-Qadīma*  
*veteris briace*, see *B.riyāqa al-Qadīma*  
*veteris*, see *al-Qadīma*  
*via corubnis*, see *maḥağğat Q.rūb.n.š*  
*via exercitus*, see *ṭariq al-'Askar*  
*via ipsa intersecat aliam via*, see *al-šalīb*  
*via kalatafimi*, see *ṭariq Qal'at Fimī*  
*via Mazarie*, see *ṭariq Māzar*  
*via mertu*, see *ṭariq Mārtū*  
*via panormi*, see *ṭariq al-Madīna*  
*via panormi*, see *ṭariq al-Madīna*  
*via publica desise*, see *maḥağğat Dasīsa*  
*via publica*, see *al-maḥağğa*  
*via vetus iati*, see *al-ṭariq al-qadīma Ġaṭū*  
*vinea arab*, see *Ġinān 'Arab*  
*vinea benhamut*, see *Ġinān bin Hammūd*  
*vinea kalatahali*, see *ğinān Qal'at 'Alī*  
*vinea notarii Leonis*, see *ğinān al-kātib Lāw*  
*vineae*, see *al-ğinān*  
*vinee*, see *al-ğinān*  
*vitis, vallones*, see *Khandaq al-Dālīya*  
*vulturum, fons*, see *'Ayn al-Nusūr*  
*vulturum, monticellus*, see *Kudyat al-Nusūr*

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- W.r.sīn al-Qadīma*, see *Raḥl W.r.sīn al-Qadīma*  
*Wādī ‘Ayn Ġamā’a al-Kabīra* (Q.rub.n.š) > *flumen fontis gemaa magnum*  
*Wādī Anṭalla* (Calatrasi) > *flumen Hantalla*  
*Wādī Anṭalla*, see *Wādī Anṭalla* (Battallaro) > *flumen hentalla*  
*Wādī Ašġār Ġuġġūw* (Raḥl Ibn Sahl) > *flumen esiar agiu*, see also *Ašġār Ġuġġūw*  
*Wādī Barqūq* (Iato- magna divisa) > *flumen barcoc*  
*Wādī Barqūq* (Raḥl ‘Amrūn) > *flumen barcoc*  
*Wādī bin Hammūd* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *flumen benhamut*  
*Wādī Bū Khabīṭ* (Iato- magna divisa) > *flumen buchabith*  
*Wādī Bū Khabīṭ* (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka & Laq.mūqa) > *flumen buchabid*  
*Wādī Haġar al-Zanātī* (Haġar al-Zanātī) > *flumen haiar zeneti*  
*Wādī H.ġġāġ* (Manzil Zarqūn) > *fluvius chagi*  
*Wādī Ibn Muḥsin* (Ġār Ša’īb) > *flumen benmuksen*  
*Wādī Ibn Muḥsin* (Ġurf Bū Karīm) > *flumen benmuchsēn*  
*Wādī Ibn Muḥsin* (Manzil ‘Abd al-Raḥmān) > *magnum flumen quod vocatur flumen benmuksen*  
*Wādī Ibn Muḥsin* (Manzil ‘Abdallāh) > *flumen belmubusen*  
*Wādī Ibn Zurra* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *flumen benzurra*  
*Wādī Ibn Zurra* (Iato- magna divisa) > *flumen benzurra*  
*Wādī l-Bārid* (Iato- magna divisa) > *flumen frigidum*  
*Wādī l-Bārid* (Raḥl ‘Amrūn) > *flumen frigidum*  
*Wādī l-Darġa* (al-Ġār) > *flumen darge*  
*Wādī l-Falūw* (Dašīsa) > *flumen felu*  
*Wādī l-Falūw* (Ġ.ṭīna) > *flumen felu*  
*Wādī l-Falūw* (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *flumen felu*  
*Wādī l-Ĥiġār* (Iato- magna divisa) > *flumen hagem*  
*Wādī l-Ġ.wb.rīya* (Manzil ‘Abdallāh) > *flumen Iuberie*  
*Wādī l-Ġ.wbārīya* (Raḥl B.ġānū) > *flumen Iuberie*  
*al-Wādī l-Kabīr* (Battallaro) > *fluvius magnus*  
*al-Wādī l-Kabīr* (Calatrasi) > *flumen magnum*  
*al-Wādī l-Kabīr* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *magnum flumen*  
*al-Wādī l-Kabīr* (al-Q.mīṭ) > *flumen magnum*  
*Wādī l-Qaššār* (Iato- magna divisa) > *flumen fullonis*  
*Wādī l-Qaššār* (al-Randa) > *flumen fullonis*  
*al-wādī l-wādī* (Calatrasi) > *per flumen al-wādī l-wādī* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *flumen flumen*  
*al-wādī l-wādī* (Iato- magna divisa) > *no equivalent*  
*Wādī l-Wazzān* (Hadd al-rab‘ bi-yad Ruḥbān K.nīsyā al-H.rh.r) > *flumen uzen*  
*Wādī l-Wazzān* (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *flumen uzen*  
*Wādī Maġnāġa* (al-Q.mīṭ) > *flumen Magnuge*  
*Wādī Malbīṭ* (Ġār Ša’īb) > *flumen malviti*  
*Wādī Malbīṭ* (Ġurf Bū Karīm) > *flumen malviti*  
*Wādī Mārtū* (Mārtū) > *fluvius mertu*  
*Wādī Mu’min* (Raḥl al-Ġawz) > *flumen mumen*  
*Wādī N.ġfūr* (Manzil Zarqūn) > *flumen nichifori*  
*Wādī Q.b.n.š* (Battallaro) > *flumen capres*  
*Wādī Q.rūb.n.š* (al-Andulsīn) > *flumen corubnis*  
*Wādī Q.rūb.n.š* (Q.rūb.n.š al-Suflā) > *flumen corubnis*  
*Wādī Qal’at Ṭrazī* (Calatrasi) > *flumen kalatarasi*  
*Wādī Qal’at Ṭrazī* (Iato- magna divisa) > *flumen kalatrasi*  
*Wādī Qurulūn* (Calatrasi) > *flumen corilionis*  
*Wādī Rabī’* (Battallaro) > *flumen rahabi*  
*Wādī Raḥl al-Ṭawr* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *flumen rahaltauri*  
*Wādī Raḥl al-Waṭā* (Q.rūb.n.š al-Suflā) > *flumen rahaluta*  
*Wādī Sabāya* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *flumen Sibeī*  
*Wādī Salla* (Corleone- magna divisa) > *flumen sulle*

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- Wādī Š.nt.ġnī*, see *Wādī Š.nt.ġnī*  
*Wādī Tūṭ* (Battallaro) > *flumen thut*  
*al-walaġa* (Battallaro) > *planum*  
*al-walaġa* (Calatrasi) > *planum*  
*al-walaġa* (Corleone- magna divisa) >  
*campus planus*  
*walaġat ‘Abd al-Wāḥid* (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) >  
*planicies abdeluehet*  
*walaġat ‘Abd al-Wāḥid* (Raḥl al-Māya) >  
*campus abdeluehet*  
*walaġat Ibn al-Ḍīd.mī* (Corleone- magna  
divisa) > *plano filii deidami*  
*al-walaġa l-marġ* (Battallaro) > *planum*  
*aquosum*  
*walaġat al-ša’ir* (Iato- magna divisa) >  
*ulizeseyr*  
*al-Wālī*, see *Raḥl al-Wālī*  
*al-waṭā* (Calatrasi) > *planum*  
*al-Waṭā*, see *Raḥl al-Waṭā* & *ra’s al-waṭā’*  
*al-Wazzān* (Ḥadd al-rab’ bi-yad Ruhbān  
K.nīsyā al-H.rh.r) > *huzen*  
*al-Wazzān* (Ġ.tīna) > *usen*  
*al-Wazzān al-Qadīma* (Ḥadd al-rab’ bi-  
yad Ruhbān K.nīsyā al-H.rh.r) >  
*huzen veteris*  
*al-Wazzān*, see *Wādī l-Wazzān*  
*Ya’qūb* (Usbiṭāl Šantaġnī) > *iacob*  
*yad, mudica*, see *Maḍīq ‘Iyād*  
*al-Yabūd*, see *Khandaq al-Yabūd*  
*Yaḥyā*, see *al-Qāyid Yaḥyā*  
*yalbis*, see *maḍīq yalbis*  
*Yāq.nu*, see *Ḥiġār Yāq.nu*  
*Yāsīn*, see *Dār Yāsīn*  
*yelbes, modica*, see *maḍīq yalbis*  
*yhie, gaytus*, see *al-Qā’id Yaḥyā*  
*yse, fons*, see *‘Ayn ‘Isā*  
*Yūsuf*, see *Bīr Ibn Yūsuf*
- al-Z.b.r*, see *‘Ayn al-Z.b.r*  
*al-Z.būġi*, see *‘Ayn al-Z.būġi*  
*al-Zufayzafa*, see *‘Ayn al-Zufayzafa*  
*al-Z.ġ.ndī*, see *Ġadīr al-Z.ġ.ndī*  
*al-Z.kūšī* (Battallaro) > *rucusi, hericus*  
*Z.rāra*, see *Ġabal Z.rāra*  
*Zurra*, see *Wādī Ibn Zurra*  
*zabar, flumen*, see *‘Ayn al-Z.b.r*  
*zagandi, lacus*, see *Ġadīr al-Z.ġ.ndī*  
*Zākī*, see *Bū Zākī*  
*zalāzil* (Battallaro) > *dirroiti*  
*al-Zanātī*, see *Ḥaġar al-Zanātī*  
*zarca, fons*, see *‘Ayn al-Zarqa*  
*al-Zarqa*, see *‘Ayn al-Zarqa*  
*Zarqūn*, see *Manzil Zarqūn*  
*al-Zawāyāt* (Raḥl al-Māya) > *zeuyet*  
*zawġ* (Raḥl ‘Amrūn) > *parricla*  
*zawġ aḥġār* (Usbiṭāl Šantaġnī) > *due petre*  
*zawġ ḥiġār* (Ḥaġar al-Zanātī) > *duae*  
*petrae*  
*al-zawġ muṭāḥin* (Battallaro) > *duo*  
*molendina*  
*Zaydūn*, see *Bāb Ġār Ibn Zaydūn*  
*zebugi, fons filii*, see *‘Ayn bin al-Z.būġi*  
*zedun, porta Gar filii*, see *Bāb Ġār Ibn*  
*Zaydūn*  
*zefe, fons zufe*, see *‘Ayn al-Zufayzafa*  
*zeneti, haiar*, see *Ḥaġar al-Zanātī*  
*zeuyet*, see *al-Zawāyāt*  
*al-zīyāt*, see *marḥala tusmī marqad al-zīyāt*  
*zucaki, puteus*, see *Bīr al-Zuqāq*  
*zufe*, see *‘Ayn al-Zufayzafa*  
*Zumūr*, see *Manzil Zumūr* & *Raḥl Zumūr*  
*al-Zuqāq* (Fuṭāšīna), see *Bīr al-Zuqāq*  
*zurara, mons*, see *Ġabal Z.rāra*  
*Zurra*, see *Wādī Ibn Zurra*

## Appendix B

### SALVATORE CUSA'S *I DIPLOMI GRECI ED ARABI*

The Greek and Arabic charters originally published by Salvatore Cusa in the edition of 1868–82 have remained an essential tool for researchers in this field until the present day. Indeed, for many their copy of ‘Cusa’ has become a semi-permanent feature of their desk-space and is rarely more than an arm’s-length away. Some still use the original two-volume edition, while most probably refer to the single-volume re-print from 1982 with its introduction by the late Albrecht Noth. Of Cusa himself, an article entitled ‘L’insegnamento di Lingua araba nell’Università di Palermo (1785–1980)’ in *Nella Sicilia ‘araba tra storia e filologia’*, Palermo, 1999 by Adalgisa De Simone charts some of his connections with the study of Arabic at the University of Palermo. An earlier article by the same author from 1984 provides further context for Cusa (see bibliography).

Although the study of Arabic in Europe was beginning to arouse greater interest in the mid-nineteenth century, it was a language whose study was still in its infancy. Indeed, as the charters were written in a difficult calligraphic script with peculiar, specialist vocabulary as well as having few diacritic marks to indicate the sense (in the case of Arabic), or alternatively, a host of abbreviated forms (in the case of the Greek), Cusa’s edition inevitably contained a large number of errors. Some of these were more serious than others and the selection of examples given below are not intended to be exhaustive so much as illustrative.

For example, we sometimes find in Cusa’s edition the inexplicable reduction of double consonants to a single one or vice versa. Thus:

<i>MS</i>	<i>Cusa</i>	<i>Cusa reference</i>
ἀζζούζ	> ἀζούζ	569a, 569b, 573b, 576b, 578a, 473a
τεμμέμ	> τεμέμ	574b
ήλχαμμέλ	> ήλχαμέλ	574a
ἐζζεουέρηκη	> ἐζεουέρηκη	575b
έλσουμμέτι	> έλσουμέτι	141b
κερέριμ	> κερρέριμ	246b
μελέκ	> μελλέκ	578a



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We sometimes find an inversion of two letters of a group of letters;

MS	<i>Cusa</i>	<i>Cusa reference</i>
εἰκνήζη	> ἰεκνήζη	568a
βουρρομέν	> βουρομμέν	581b
ἰραρχάμ	> ἰραρχάμ	593a

Some letters become substituted for others, although it is not clear whether this could be classed as a species of typographical error. Thus;

MS	<i>Cusa</i>	<i>Cusa reference</i>
χάτζκ	> κάτζκ	144b
καλλέλ	> χαλλέλ	136b
القساطي	> القساطي	144a, 145b, 162a, 162b
ἄλι	> ἄλη	157b and passim
κεράμς	> χερέράμης	261a
κάσιμ	> χάσιμ	253b
κασήρ	> χασήρ	254a

Of miscellaneous typographical errors there are *inter alia*;

MS	<i>Cusa</i>	<i>Cusa reference</i>
έβραχήμ	> έβαχήμ	569a
العجوز	> العجور	582b
τζάφαρ	> τξάφαρ	592b
χουσείν	> χυσειν	589b
الموش	> الموس	160b
يوسف	> يوسف	144b

Of what appear to be straightforward manuscript error readings, there are, amongst many;

MS	<i>Cusa</i>	<i>Cusa reference</i>
χαμμούνθ	> χαμμούντ	564b
γτελλούλ	> τξελλούλ	565b
ἰωσήφ	> ἰωσήρ	567a
χάμζε	> χάμσε	569b
κασίς	> κασσίς	266b
χασάρ	> χασσάρ	265a
φιττάχ	> φυττάχ	282b

## APPENDIX B

MS	<i>Cusa</i>	<i>Cusa reference</i>
βουρδονάνι	> βουρδονάρος	285a
الموذن	> المودن	270a
المودن	> المودن	275a
المودن	> المودب	281a
حمو	> حمود	566a
حبيم	> حبين	584b
الاسفاسي	> الاسفسي	264a

However, the most serious error types are probably the restoration of abbreviated Greek forms to a full name, where Cusa often based his reconstruction on precedents that were not uniformly used in the documents. For example, where the Greek scribe has written simply an apostrophe such as  $\chi'$  for the Arabic name *Hasan*, Cusa has expanded the Greek to  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\nu$ , based on the transcription of *some* other examples in the *ġarā'id*. But *Ḥasan* is also commonly transcribed by the Greek scribes as either  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\nu$  or  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha'$  (which, in the latter case, Cusa also gives as  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\nu$ )! Particularly common in this section are the restorations of short (often final) vowels, medial position diphthongs and medial and final syllables. We also find blank spaces where he was unable to read the Arabic.<sup>1</sup> Among the many hundreds of exempla of such gratuitous editing, some typical ones are;

MS	<i>Cusa</i>	<i>Cusa reference</i>
χαμμίου	> χαμμιούτ	566a
ιχ'	> ιχιές	262a, 264a and passim
χ'	> χάσεν	589a and passim
χά	> χάσεν	476b and passim
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ουλκά</li> <li>βουλκ'</li> <li>βουλκά</li> </ul>	> βουλκάσιμ	168a, 171b, 171b and passim
τζάγφαρ'ς	> τζάγφαρης	173b
αὐδ	> αὐδ	168b
μακάπ'λ	> μακάπελ	168b
τζανγγ'ς	> τζανγγάρης	247a
τζέπλ	> τζέπελ	280a
μουχούμτ	> μουχούμιουτ	144b and passim with many similar variations
αὐδεραχμ'	> αὐδεραχμέν	131a and passim
μειμ'	> μειμούν	583b and passim

1 cf the gaps on page 547 of Cusa.

APPENDIX B

Cusa also had a habit of hypercorrecting actual readings to versions that he perhaps considered more classical or even more ‘authentic’. Very commonly we find that Cusa has replaced an upsilon with a beta, so that ‘*abd* > *άβδ* or *άυδ*’ (in the manuscripts), but exclusively > *άβδ* (in Cusa). As early as the first century BCE, writers of Greek had used alternative spellings with these two letters that almost certainly reflected some phonetic confusion between them.<sup>2</sup> In spite of this, classicists have tended to prefer Athenian fifth century BCE spellings (with upsilon used as a vowel, not as a consonant), and Cusa has often imposed this scheme on twelfth-century Sicilian Greek. In the rubric at the foot of page 548 we find Cusa has restored a torn manuscript reading with the fifth century BCE form *προστάττομεν*- whereas, seventeen hundred years later, the Sicilian Greek should have read *προστάσσομεν*. We might also note that an extremely high percentage of the accents in the Greek have been adopted to fit a classical system of acutes, graves and circumflexes. In fact, the medieval Sicilian scribes used a simpler system in name-writing where the primary stress was most usually marked with an acute or grave accent. Mercifully, the all-important position of the accents where the stress falls is the same in both Cusa and the manuscript versions. Examples of hypercorrected forms include;

MS	Cusa	Cusa reference
ῥεζκούν	> ζεζκούν	582a (for <i>zarqūn!</i> )
σολειμέν	> σουλειμέν	584a and passim
ουρρου	> ουέρου	572a (for <i>wāruw</i> )
ζάτζητ	> ζεύτζητ	593a and passim (for <i>zawǧa</i> )
άβράμος	> άβράμιος	159b
κάουσιρι	> κάουσιρι	277a
ουθμά	> ουθμέν	139b and passim
δαχμά	> δαχμέν	158a and passim
الكنيسة	> الكنيسة	272a
القمحي	> القمحي	152a
غروز	> عزوز	142b

The inescapable conclusion for linguists and, to some extent, historians is that, until a sorely needed re-edition of these registers is published, accurate data can only be derived for certain from the manuscripts themselves.

2 The medieval confusion is borne out by the fact that in Modern Greek b and u now have the same value /v/, whereas in fifth-century Attic Greek b was /b/ and u /u/. Cf Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek* p. 3.

Appendix C

THE VARYING TREATMENT OF  
PROFESSIONAL NAMES

Monreale 1178	Monreale 1183	Catania 1145	Aci 1145?	Cefalù 1145	Others 1095–1169
al-ʿaġūz <sup>1</sup> ἀπζούζ	178a al-ʿaġūz ὁ πλάτζ	al-ʿaġūz ἐλαηζούζ ἐλαηζούζ ἐλαηζούζ	al-ʿaġūz ἡ γραιία	al-ʿaġūz	al-ʿaġūz ἀηζούζ
al-ʿawn <sup>2</sup>	al-ʿawn ὁ πλάτζ	al-ʿawn	al-ʿawn	al-ʿawn	al-ʿawn
al-bannā <sup>3</sup> ὁ κτήστως	al-bannā πέυε	al-bannā ἡβέννε	al-bannā	al-bannā	al-bannā
ἐπίυε	179a	ἡβέννε	574a 580a		
al-bayyāʿah <sup>4</sup>	al-bayyāʿah	al-bayyāʿah ἐλπεϊάα	al-bayyāʿah πράτρεα	al-bayyāʿah	al-bayyāʿah
al-farrān <sup>5</sup> φουρρινος	al-farrān	al-farrān	al-farrān	al-farrān	al-farrān
φουρρινος	138				
al-fāšid <sup>6</sup>	al-fāšid φλεβωτόμω[ος]	al-fāšid	al-fāšid	al-fāšid	al-fāšid
	174b	gūlām γουλέμ	gūlām	gūlām	gūlām
	166b	γουλέμ	583a 583b		

1 ‘Old woman’. This may have had a more specific meaning such as ‘servant’ cf *al-ʿaġūz bi-dār l-kbayyāt* (582b), although the Greek *ἡ γραιία* also means ‘old woman’.

2 ‘The servant’.

3 ‘The builder’. The paroxytonic stress position of the Greek does not correspond with the Arabic nor with the modern Sicilian surname ‘Bannò’. The Greek ending of ‘Penne’ shows evidence of *imāla* or palatisation, whereas ‘Bannò’ is produced by velarisation cf De Simone (1992) p. 61.

4 ‘The saleswoman’.

5 ‘The baker’.

6 ‘The phlebotomist or cupper’. Most researchers these days translate the common surname ‘Haġġām’ as ‘cupper’, but given here that a different word is specifically translated in the Greek as ‘cupper’, then it casts doubt on whether ‘haġġām’ really meant ‘cupper’ or something else, such as ‘barber’.

7 ‘The servant’.

Monreale 1178	Monreale 1183	Catania 1145	Aci 1145?	Cefalù 1145	Others 1095–1169
ὁ δούλος	167b	γούλεμ	583a		
δούλος	178a	γούλεμ	583a		
al-ḥaddād <sup>8</sup>		al-ḥaddād	al-ḥaddād	al-ḥaddād	al-ḥaddād
χάλκευς	142b	ἐλατθὲτ	566b		
χαδὲδ	150b	ἐλατθὲτ	567a		
ἐλατθὲδ	152b	ἐλατθὲτ	567b		
ἐλατθὲδ	153b	ἐλατθὲτ	569b		
ἐλατθὲδ	160b	ἠλατθὲτ	572b		
χαδὲδ	160b	ἠλατθὲτ	572b		
ἐλατθὲδ	172b	ἐλατθὲτ	575b		
ἐλατθὲδ	178b	ἐλατθὲτ	576a		
		ἐλατθὲτ	576a		
		ἠλατθὲτ	576b		
		ἐλατθὲτ	582a		
		ἐλατθὲτ	584a		
		ἐλατθὲτ	585a		
al-ḥammār <sup>9</sup>		al-ḥammār	al-ḥammār	al-ḥammār	al-ḥammār
ἀολιάτης	152a	ἐλαμμάρα	577b		
λαμάρ	160b	βουδονάνι	581b		
al-b.rād.nī		al-burdunāni	al-burdunāni	al-burdunāni	al-burdunāni
ἐλπερέθινη	155a	βουδονάνι	578b		
		βουδονάνι			
al-kātib <sup>10</sup>		al-kātib	al-kātib	al-kātib	al-kātib
ιστάτος	160a	ἐλάκτιπ	565a		
		ἐλάκτιπ	572b		

<sup>8</sup> ‘The smith’.

<sup>9</sup> ‘The donkey-man’. Bourdonaros is the Greek equivalent.

<sup>10</sup> ‘The scribe’.

<i>Monreale</i> 1178	<i>Monreale</i> 1183	<i>Catania</i> 1145	<i>Acì</i> 1145?	<i>Cefalù</i> 1145	<i>Others</i> 1095–1169
al-madīnī <sup>11</sup> παρόρι[ου]	al-madīniyya 154a μιδνιέ μιδνιέ μιδνιέ	al-madina 258a 274a 277a	al-madīnī ἐλμρνίνι	al-madina 594b	al-madīna
al-mu'waḡḡ <sup>12</sup>	al-mu'waḡḡ τραλλώς	al-mu'waḡḡ 247a	al-mu'waḡḡ	al-mu'waḡḡ	al-mu'waḡḡ
al-našārā <sup>13</sup> ὁ χριστιανός	al-našārī 146b	al-našārī	al-našārī	al-našārī	al-našārī
al-qašīr <sup>14</sup> ὁ κονδ[ος]	al-qašīr 146bb κασήρ	al-qašīr 254a ἐλκασήρ ἐλκασήρ	al-qašīr 572a 583b	al-qašīr	al-qašīra ἐλκασήρα ? 614a
rāḡil <sup>15</sup> ἄθρωπος	rāḡil 139a ἄθρωπος	rāḡil 266b	rāḡil	rāḡil	rāḡila ῥάτ-ζελα 129a
ἄθρωπος	161a δουλερνής	266b			
ἄθρωπος	163b				
ἄθρωπος <sup>16</sup>	169b				
al-rahḥāl ἐρραχάλ	al-rahḥāl 138b ὁ ζαμπάρτ <sup>17</sup>	al-rahḥāl 247b	al-rahḥāla ἡῤῥαχάλε	al-rahḥāl 593a	al-rahḥāl
ἐρραχάλ	145a ὁ ῥαρχάλ	261b			
ἐρραχάλ	157b ῥαρχάλ	268a			
ἐρραχάλ	161a ῥαρχάλ	271b			
ἐρραχάλ	168b				
ἐρραχάλ	172a				

11 'The Palermitan'. Many town names were Hellenicised or, in this case, given the Greek name.

12 'The hunchback'.

13 'The Christian'.

14 'The short'.

15 Literally 'man', but the Greek *δουλερνής* suggests 'servant'. In other contexts it has the sense of 'villein', but clearly all the men in the registers were villeins. Rāḡil is a dialect variation of standard Arabic 'rāḡil'.

16 'The traveller'.

17 Ultimately from *διαβάτης* > \*ζαβάτης meaning 'the traveller' cf Caracausi (1990b) p. 14. It is apparently not attested in any Modern Greek dialect.

Monreale 1178	Monreale 1183	Catania 1145	Aci 1145?	Cefalù 1145	Others 1095–1169
al-rāhib <sup>18</sup>	al-rāhib	al-rāhib	al-rāhib	qaḷḡarū? καλοκίρου	al-rāhib
ἐλάχιπ	148a				
ἐλάχιπ	148a				
ῥάχιπ	148b				
ἐλάχιπ	151a				
ὁ καλόγηρος	163b				479a
al-ṣaḡīr <sup>19</sup>	al-ṣaḡīr	al-ṣaḡīr	al-ṣaḡīr		al-ṣaḡīr ὁ μικρός
69b					
al-ṣayx <sup>20</sup>	al-ṣayx	al-ṣayx	al-ṣayx	al-ṣayx	al-ṣayx
ἐλάχι	136b	252b	571a	586b	473b
ὁ γέρον	139a	252a	ὁ σῆχ	ὁ γέρον	γέρον?
614a	163b	254b	ἡσσῆχ	ὁ γέρον	473b
ἐλάχι	165b	259b		ὁ γέρον	473b
ὁ γέρον	166a	260a		ὁ γέρον	476.1
ἐλάχι	166a	261a			
ἐλάχι	168a	261a			
ὁ γέρον	172a	264a			
	σῆχ	268b			
	ὁ γέρον	274b			
	ὁ γέρον	279a			
	ὁ γέρον	281b			
	ὁ γέρον	283a			
al-tāḡīr <sup>21</sup>	al-tāḡīr	al-tāḡīr	al-tāḡīr	al-tāḡīr	al-tāḡīr
ὁ παραμυτεύτης	166a		ἡππεύτηρ	592a	478a
ἐπτεύτηρ	177b		ἡππεύτηρ	ἡππεύτηρ	478a

18 'The monk'.

19 'The small'.

20 'The elder' or 'sheikh'.

21 'The merchant'.



Monreale 1178	Monreale 1183	Catania 1145	Aci 1145?	Cefalù 1145	Others 1095-1169
al-tahhān <sup>22</sup> ὁ μιλῶν	al-tahhān 168a ὁ πωρῶν	al-tahhān 1145 ἡπταρῶν ἔπταρῶν	al-tahhān ἡπταρῶν πωρῶν	al-tahhān 1145 ἔπταρῶν	al-tahhān 475a
tawīl <sup>23</sup> παιῶν	tawīl 138a	tawīl παιῶν	tawīl	tawīl	tawīl
al-tawīl μάκρ[η]ς	al-tawīl 153a μάκρ[η]ς	al-tawīl ἔπταρῶν παιῶν	al-tawīl	al-tawīl	al-tawīl
al-šātt ὁ μάκρ[η]ς	170b				
al-turūš <sup>24</sup> ἐπταρούς	al-turūš 139b ὁ κοφός	al-turūš	al-turūš	al-turūš	al-turūš
ἐπταρούς	164a παρός ὁ κοφός	250b 263a 263a	ἡπταρούς τουρούς	587b 588b	
al-waqīl <sup>25</sup> (sic)	al-waqīl 146b ουκίλ	al-waqīl	al-waqīl	al-waqīl	al-waqīl
ὁ κουράτωρ	ὁ κουράτωρ 266b ὁ κουράτωρ 267a ουκίλ 275b	247b 266b 267a 275b		ελευσεῖλ	479b

22 'The miller'.

23 'The tall'. Al-šātt means 'the active'.

24 'The deaf'.

25 'The agent'.

Monreale 1178	Monreale 1183	Catania 1145	Aci 1145?	Cefalù 1145	Others 1095-1169
al-khanzār <sup>26</sup>	al-khanzār	al-khanzār	al-khanzār	al-khanzār	al-khanzār
ὁ χοιροβόσκ[ος]	146b				
ὁ χοιροβόσκ[ος]	146b				
ὁ κοιροβόσκ[ος]	152a				
ἐχουτῆσι	173b				
al-khayyāt <sup>27</sup>	al-khayyāt	al-khayyāt	al-khayyāt	al-khayyāt	al-khayyāt
ὁ ράπτ[ης]	155b	247a	572b		
χαιῶτ	164b	251a	573b		
ὁ ράπτ[ης]	173b	254b	578a		
ράπτ[ης]	178b	261a	582b		
		263b			
		265a			
		276a			
		284a			
		285a			
yatīm <sup>28</sup>	ὠρφανοῦ	267a			

26 'The pig farmer'.

27 'The tailor'.

28 'The orphan'.

# NOTES

## 1 SICILY BEFORE 1100

- 1 As an indication of the extreme dialectal diversity in southern Italy and of its importance, Carlo Levi in his novel, *Christ stopped at Eboli*, written in 1935, said of Lucania (the area on the Italian mainland that borders on the modern provinces of Calabria, Basilicata and Puglia) that, 'no message human or divine has reached this stubborn poverty. We speak a different language, and here the tongue is incomprehensible. The greatest travellers have not gone beyond the limits of their own world', 1947, reprinted in 2000, translated by Francis Frenaye, p. 13). More recently, the testimony of Salvatore Contorno at the *maxi-processo* mafia trial in 1984 was given entirely in Palermitan dialect as he could not speak Italian. Interpreters and a linguistics expert from Catania University had to be drafted in for the benefit of the Italian-speaking magistrates. Even the chief prosecutor, who was from Caltanissetta, less than 100 miles away from Palermo, could not always understand what was being said. (Alexander Stille, *Excellent Cadavers*, London, 1995, pp. 130 and 187).
- 2 Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa, *The Leopard*, 1958, translated by A. Colquhoun, p. 187.
- 3 *National Geographic*, 149, 3 (March 1976), pp. 407–36.
- 4 See Marcello Cioè (1996) for the very early Semitic toponymy of Sicily.
- 5 Thucydides, *History*, 6, 2–3. Oxford Classical Texts, eds. H. S. Jones and J. E. Powell, 1942.
- 6 R. Ambrosini, 'Italica o anatolica la lingua dei graffiti di Segesta' in *Studi e saggi linguistici*, VIII, 1968, pp. 160–72.
- 7 The 100cm<sup>2</sup> terracotta tablet from Montagna dei Cavalli near Prizzi, is in the Museo Archeologico in Palermo, although is not on display to the public.
- 8 For Punic inscriptions, see Guzzo Amadasi (1967) and (1972–3) pp. 278–89. See also Várvaro (1981) pp. 26–7. For the language situation in Roman North Africa, see Fergus Millar's fascinating article 'Local cultures in the Roman Empire: Libyan, Punic and Latin in Roman Africa,' *Journal of Roman Studies*, 58, 1968, pp. 126–34.
- 9 For a general introduction to the subject, see Moscati (1977).
- 10 Wilson (1990) pp. 283–6.
- 11 Wilson (1990) p. 283.
- 12 For a good summary with transcriptions and brief commentary, but with wider bibliographical references, see Nicolò Bucaria's *Sicilia Judaica*, Palermo, 1996.
- 13 Wilson (1990) pp. 312ff.

- 14 Cicero, *In Q. Caecilium*, 12, p. 38, Oxford Classical Texts, ed. W. Peterson, 1907.
- 15 Finley (1979) p. 166.
- 16 Apuleius *Metamorphoses*, 11, 5: 320, eds. C. Giarratano and P. Frassinetto, 1960, Turin, and Apuleius *Apologia*, 24. 1, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1914.
- 17 Both the Numidians and the Gaetulians were Berber tribes, see Brett and Fentress (1996) p. 42. Apuleius compared himself to Cyrus who was ‘half Mede, half Persian.’ To most classical authors, the latter, at least, were effectively synonymous.
- 18 Bivona (1970) p. 195.
- 19 Griffio (1943) pp. 83–5.
- 20 Bivona (1970), no. 74. Probably dating from the first half of the first century AD.
- 21 A. di Vita in ‘Una nuova testimonianza di latino ‘volgare’ della Sicilia sud-orientale: l’epitaffio di Zoe’ in *Kolakos*, vii, 1961, pp. 199–215.
- 22 Di Stefano, C. A. (1973) *Sicilia Archeologica*, vi, 1973, pp. 21–2.
- 23 Cassiodorus, *Variae*, IX, 14: 278–9, *MGH*, ed. T. Mommsen, Berlin, 1894.
- 24 Várvaro (1981) p. 60.
- 25 *Gregori I papae registrum epistolarum*, eds. P. Ewart and L. M. Hartmann, Berlin, 1957. For an introduction to settlement in western Sicily in this period, see F. Maurici, ‘Sicilia Bizantina. Gli insediamenti del Palermitano’ in *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, 20, 1994, pp. 27–93.
- 26 Pace (1949) p. 467.
- 27 Bonfante (1985) pp. 3–6 and Melazzo (1984) pp. 34–57.
- 28 Borsari (1951) pp. 133–8. Ibn al-Aṭīr recorded that, during the campaigns around Castrogiovanni in the 830s, a large army came from Constantinople to the aid of the Christians, *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 271; translation in Amari, p. 94.
- 29 Várvaro (1981) p. 79.
- 30 *BAS* (Arabic version) pp. 190–203; translation in Amari, pp. 70–4.
- 31 Brett (1995) p. 334.
- 32 Brett (1970) pp. 387ff.
- 33 Ibn al-Aṭīr *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 320; translation in Amari, p. 115, links the ‘Frankish’ capture Toledo (1085) with the first appearance of the Normans in Sicily (1091) and the Crusader’s siege of Antioch (1097–8)
- 34 Ibn al-Aṭīr *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 269; translation in Amari, p. 92. This wording was echoed by al-Nuwayrī for the year 747–8, who added that ‘they did not even leave a mountain without a fort on top’. Al-Nuwayrī *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 483; translation in Amari, p. 174.
- 35 Ibn al-Aṭīr *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 269; translation in Amari, p. 93, for the year 752–3 says, ‘the governors of Ifrīqiya were occupied with the rebellion of the Berbers’. This directly precedes the Byzantine decision to strengthen the fortifications on Sicily. See also Brett and Fentress (1996) p. 122.
- 36 See the debate recorded in al-Nuwayrī *BAS* (Arabic version) pp. 483–4; translation in Amari, p. 174. The Arabic narrative sources suggest a single point of entry at Marsala in 827, however, a hoard of silver dirhams dated to 827–8 discovered at San Leone near Agrigento, suggests at least one other landing area. See B. Lagumina ‘Ripostoglio di monete arabe rinvenuto in Girgenti’ *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, 29, 1904, pp. 80–90.
- 37 Al-Nuwayrī *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 483; translation in Amari, p. 173.
- 38 *Malaterra*, II.14, p. 33.
- 39 Ibn al-Aṭīr *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 280; translation in Amari, p. 97, early in the year 859.
- 40 Ibn al-Aṭīr *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 305; translation in Amari, p. 108.

- 41 For examples of Sicilian Greek migrants who appear on the mainland, see von Falkenhausen (1986) pp. 159ff.
- 42 Ménager (1958) pp. 747–74.
- 43 Guillou, *Les actes grecs*, pp. 19–33.
- 44 For the use of Muslim mercenaries in the Duchy of Benevento in the ninth century, see Loud (2000) p. 16.
- 45 *La Théotokos de Hagia Agathè*, pp. 29–31. See also the discussion in the Loud (2000) pp. 16–21 for the effects of Muslim raids, particularly on south Italian mainland monasteries.
- 46 Guillou, *Les actes grecs*, pp. 28–9.
- 47 For the existence of such Greek communities, see von Falkenhausen (1986) pp. 135–74.
- 48 Amari, *SMS*, II, p. 457.
- 49 Yāqūt *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 124; translation in Amari, p. 51.
- 50 *Ibn Hawqal*, p. 129. If the translation of ‘they are not circumcised’ for *lā yatatabharūna* is correct in this case, one might wonder how Ibn Ḥawqal came by such information. An answer may possibly be found in the history of Abū l-Fidā’, who recorded for the year 962–3 that the Fatimid caliph al-Mu’izz had ordered that a census of children be held in Sicily so that parents could be rewarded for having them circumcized. (See Abū l-Fidā’ *BAS*, Arabic version, p. 467; translation in Amari, p. 167). As this was only ten years prior to Ibn Ḥawqal’s visit, it is not inconceivable that who was and who was not circumcized in Sicily had been a talking point of the 960s.
- 51 Kramers and Wiet (1964) p. 128, follow Gabrieli and translate the term *muṣa’midūn* as ‘bâtards’ from the Italian ‘bastardi’. See also Gabrieli (1961) p. 249. The translation in English seems to lie somewhere between mongrels, half-castes, buffoons and impostors.
- 52 *Ibn Hawqal*, p. 130.
- 53 Ibn Ḥawqal’s figure of ‘just less than 200 butcher’s shops’ in Palermo seems a little high (*Ibn Hawqal*, p. 119). However, repeated and apparently inane assertions about the Sicilian fondness for onions (op. cit., pp. 123–4) is corroborated, in part, by Ibn al-‘Awwām’s *Kitāb al-Falāba* which devotes a section to the particular method of onion cultivation in Sicily. *BAS* (Arabic version) pp. 613–4; translation in Amari, p. 222.
- 54 *Cusa*, p. 4, in 1097; Robinson (1930) p. 195 in 1092 and Falkenhausen (1983) p. 192 in 1092.
- 55 For several examples of modern toponyms derived from these, see Caracausi (1993), pp. 251–2, 238–9, 1015–6, 1309–13 and 1333–4.
- 56 *Ibn Gubayr*, pp. 296 and 302.
- 57 Amari, *SMS*, II, p. 499.
- 58 Bresc (1976) p. 189.
- 59 For the distribution of Greek archival material, see Vera von Falkenhausen’s chapter in Loud and Metcalfe (2002).
- 60 Ibn al-Aṭṭār *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 272; translation in Amari, p. 94.
- 61 In *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, Palermo, 1910, vol. II, pp. 408–9.
- 62 For Palermo’s gardens in the later Middle Ages, see Bresc (1972) pp. 55–127.
- 63 For the academic life of Islamic Sicily see Rizzitano (1973) and (1975), also De Simone (1997). For textiles and embroidery as well as later Sicilian ivory carvings from the Norman period, see Talbot Rice (1975) pp. 155–62.
- 64 Pirro I, p. 384.
- 65 For a general account in English of settlement and the economy of the kingdom, see the chapter by J.-M. Martin in Loud and Metcalfe (2002).

- 66 For the background to the *castellum cognomento Cephalas* above the site of the baths attested in 1121, and the reference to it in al-Idrīsī, see F. Maurici, *Castelli medievali in Sicilia. Dai Bizantini ai normanni*, Palermo, 1992, p. 286.
- 67 Bresc (1985) pp. 244–6.
- 68 Al-Nuwayrī *BAS* (Arabic version) pp. 494–5; translation in Amari, p. 179.
- 69 Bresc (1985) p. 244. The idea that there could have been any specifically ‘Sicilian’ consciousness before c.1200 is debatable.
- 70 Amari, *Le Epigrafi*, pp. 21–9.
- 71 Ibn al-Aṭīr *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 299; translation in Amari, p. 105: ‘*wa-naqaḍ kaṭīran min al-madīna*’.
- 72 Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*, ed. A. P. Van Leeuwen and A. Ferre, Dar al-Gharb al-Islam, vol 2, p. 679. For a similarly exaggerated account of the city of Bari which in 1156 was said to ‘now lie transformed into piles of rubble’, following ‘the destruction of the entire city’ by William I, see *Falcandus*, pp. 21–2. Although some evidence suggests that the town was repopulated by at least 1159, see Loud (1998) pp. 73–4, Benjamin of Tudela p. 45 speaks of a town ‘still in ruins’ in the late 1160s.
- 73 Bresc (1985) p. 244.
- 74 *Malaterra*, II.18, p. 35.
- 75 *Malaterra*, II.20, p. 35 and *Amatus*, V.11, p. 234.
- 76 *Malaterra*, II.45, p. 53.
- 77 Ibn al-Aṭīr *BAS* (Arabic version) pp. 303–4; translation in Amari, p. 107.
- 78 *Amatus*, V.24, p. 244.
- 79 *Malaterra*, IV.2, p. 86. ‘*lingua eorum, sicut et graeca, ipse et nautae omnes, qui cum ipso processerant, pertissimi erant*’.
- 80 Várvaro (1973) p. 360.
- 81 See Iohannes Syklitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn, Berolini – Novi Eboraci, 1972, pp. 403 and 405–7.
- 82 Ibn al-Aṭīr, *BAS* (Arabic version) pp. 318–19; translation in Amari, p. 114. Al-Nuwayrī’s later account is virtually identical. Ibn al-Aṭīr dates this precisely to the month of *Raḡab* in the Islamic year 444, which equates to the period between 27 October and 25 November of 1052 when he claimed the Franks then ‘went with him’. However, the chronology of this pre-invasion period is generally suspect and that of Ibn al-Aṭīr’s account in particular. For instance, he dates Roger’s death to 1098 not 1101 and circumscribes the events of the thirty-year campaign in a few paragraphs. Also, had the Normans been approached before *Malaterra*’s date of February 1061 just before the invasion, it would surely have been noted by the same author? Instead, we are told that Roger had designs on the conquest of Sicily only after the pacification of Calabria in 1060, (*Malaterra*, II.1 p. 28). On the other hand, an early appeal may account for why Robert Guiscard is attested as swearing loyalty to the pope as the ‘future Duke of Sicily’ at Melfi in August 1059. For this, see Loud (2000) p. 146.
- 83 *Malaterra*, II.22, p. 36.
- 84 *Amatus*, V.11, p. 234.
- 85 *Amatus*, VIII.14, p. 354.
- 86 *Malaterra*, IV.17, p. 96; IV.22, p. 100 and IV.26, p. 104. The latter reference is independently corroborated by the biographer of Saint Anselm, see Southern (1962) II.33, pp. 110–12.
- 87 Lupus Prothospatharius, *Annales 855–1102*, ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS* v.62.
- 88 *Malaterra*, II.34, p. 45.
- 89 *Malaterra*, II.36, p. 46.
- 90 *Malaterra*, II.18, p. 35.

- 91 *Malaterra*, II.20, p. 35.  
 92 *Malaterra*, II.30, p. 41.  
 93 The Qurʾān, sūra V, 92. Generally, see *Kḥamr* by Wensinck in EI<sup>2</sup> vol. IV, pp. 994–6.  
 94 For wine-growing villeins see *al-karrām* and *al-karrāmī* in Cusa, pp. 162, 242–261. For Sicilian viticulture generally, Cherubini (1987) pp. 187–234. For pig-farmers, see the discussion in chapter 8. The Sicilian dialect word *taibbu*, derived from the Arabic *ṭayyib* ('good') is attested as meaning 'a perfect wine that has a fine taste', see Giarrizzo (1989) p. 350. So the terms used at some time by Arabic speakers, whether Muslims or Christians, may have been sufficiently well-established to have persisted into more modern periods. One could argue that the pigs and vines belonged to churches as there are many donations that record provisions for the keeping of pigs, which are not usually associated with Muslim communities.  
 95 *Malaterra*, II.29, p. 40.  
 96 *Malaterra*, III.8–9, p. 61 and IV.3, pp. 86–7.  
 97 Maurici (1999) p. 60.  
 98 Ibn al-Aṭīr, *BAS* (Arabic version), p. 332; translation in Amari, p. 119.  
 99 Ibn Ḥamdīs *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 621; translation in Amari, p. 225.

## 2 THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY: LANGUAGE, RELIGION AND STATUS

- 1 Bresc (1985) p. 256. Lombard settlement was particularly strong in the towns of Novara, S. Fratello, Nicosia, Sperlinga, Aidone and Piazza Armerina where traces of a 'Lombard' dialect are still claimed to be extant.  
 2 In the light of recent publications, it should be added that, in sociolinguistic terms, the limited amount and quality of evidence does not allow us to theorize about levels of diglossia or the spoken varieties of dialect without speculation because lack of relevant data does not permit us to test the hypotheses on which such theories rest.  
 3 *Ibn Gubayr*, p. 296.  
 4 Abulafia (1986) pp. 196–212.  
 5 '*pauci Christiani usque ad mortem regis Guillelmi secundi*'. See Collura, *Agrigento*, p. 307.  
 6 *Malaterra*, IV.17, p. 96; IV.22, p. 100 and IV.26 p. 104.  
 7 *William of Apulia*, III, lines 286–7, p. 178.  
 8 Whether the letter was personal or not, see the debate in Kedar (1984) p. 50.  
 9 *Malaterra*, IV.7, p. 89. Gregory VII, *Regsitrum*, III.11 (ed. E. Caspar *MGH*, *Epistolae Selectae*, Berlin 1920–3, 1, 272), a letter sent to Archbishop Arnold of Acerenza for onward transmission to Count Roger.  
 10 In support of this, there is a Roger Chamuti from 1163 (see A. Pratesi, *Carte latine di abbazie calabresi, provenienti dall'Archivio Aldobrandini*) and a royal justiciar called Rogerius Hamutus from 1189 and 1193. In 1216 a Roger Hammutis is recorded again in Castrogiovanni, cf. White (1938) pp. 282–3 and 438. For the conversion theory, see Rizzitano (1977) pp. 205–7 repeated by Bresc (1985) p. 246 and again in a communication by Amara and Nef (2001) pp. 121–7.  
 11 Guillou, 'Le Brébion de la métropole byzantine de Région (vers 1050)', *Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du sud et de Sicile. Recerches d'histoire et de géographie*, 4, Città del Vaticano, 1974, p. 180.  
 12 *Malaterra*, II.45, p. 53.  
 13 Ibn al-Ṭumna did not convert but still retained his power, while a certain 'Gaitus Maimuni' held sway over Petralia.

- 14 *Malaterra*, III.30, p. 75.
- 15 *nam eorum multa milia in ipsam expeditionem secum adduxerat quorum etiam plurimi velut comperimus se libenter eius doctrinae instruendos summisissent ac Christianae fidei iugo sua per eum colla iniecissent, si crudelitatem comitis sui pro hoc in se sevituram non formidassent. Nam revera nullam eorum pati volebat Christianum impune fieri.* (Southern, 1962, II.33: 110–12)
- 16 *Falcandus*, p. 73.
- 17 Cusa, p. 16.
- 18 See Johns *Royal Dīwān*, especially pp. 34–9 and 45–8 for a full discussion on the tax burden of Sicilian Muslim communities.
- 19 Qurʾān IX, 29. Generally, see Cahen ‘Djizya’ and ‘Dḥimma’ in EI<sup>2</sup> vol. II, pp. 559–62 and 227–31.
- 20 *Malaterra*, II.13, p. 33.
- 21 For the imposition of the *ḡizya* as part of the treaties (*aman*) concluded in Mahdiyya, Djerba and Tripoli, see Brett (1995), pp. 349–50.
- 22 *Malaterra*, II.45, p. 53.
- 23 *Malaterra*, III.20, p. 69.
- 24 *Malaterra*, IV.15, p. 93.
- 25 The townsfolk of Caccamo and Prizzi claimed they owed no dues, but when there was an urgent necessity, sometimes let their lords have what they demanded, on their terms and of their own free will. *Falcandus*, p. 144.
- 26 *Ibn Ḡubayr*, p. 297.
- 27 Cusa, pp. 111–12 and Johns, *Royal Dīwān* pp 35 and 145.
- 28 De Simone (1996) p. 90.
- 29 *Ibn Ḡubayr*, p. 314.
- 30 Brett (1995) p. 355. For Abū l-Qāsim’s role in the royal administration, see Johns, *Royal Dīwān* pp. 234–5, 240–1, 252–3, 289–90 and 292.
- 31 Huillard-Breholles (1852) V. i. 628 and Egidi (1917) p. 8 no. 29; pp. 28–9 no. 88 and p. 71 no. 190.
- 32 *Ibn Ḡubayr*, pp. 305–6.
- 33 The poet Ibn Qalāqis, patronized by Abū l-Qāsim who was probably responsible for collection of the *ḡizya* on behalf of the fiscal administration and who was later deprived of much of his vast wealth, urged him to save the Muslims of Syracuse from the burden of their taxes. De Simone (1996) p. 90. Apart from turning a blind eye to non-payers of the *ḡizya*, it is not clear how he might have ‘saved’ them otherwise.
- 34 The unusual constitution of Patti decreed that only ‘men of the Latin tongue, whoever they might be’ could settle in the town itself. *Roger II Diplomata* no. 23, pp. 64–6. To landlords generally, Muslims on their land were valued as taxable commodities because they paid the *ḡizya*.
- 35 Catania villein register of 1145 Cusa, pp. 563–85; the ‘Chúrchuro’ concessions of 1149 and 1154 in Johns and Metcalfe (1999); Seville, ADM, no. 1119; 1169 Cusa, pp. 37–9; 1177–9 fugitive villeins from Mezzoiuso, Cusa, pp. 111–12 and the Monreale registers of 1178 and 1183, Cusa, pp. 134–78 and pp. 245–86.
- 36 Cf. the registers, translated into Latin, recording villeins held by the churches of Lípari-Patti and Cefalù, *Rollus Rubeus* pp. 39–41 and Garufi (1928), pp. 92–100.
- 37 See Johns *Royal Dīwān*, for a full discussion of these categories and the numerous problems that these raise.
- 38 ‘*more legis suae*’ according to *Malaterra*, IV.16, p. 95.
- 39 *Catana Sacra*, p. 89, ‘*unusquisque iuxta suam legem*’.
- 40 Cusa, pp. 44–6 & 499–501.
- 41 See discussion below and Cusa, pp. 111–12.



- 42 Brett (1995) especially pp. 330–3.  
 43 Brett (1995) p. 326.  
 44 Cusa, p. 471 (in 1123), p. 69 (1143), p. 475 (1145) and p. 273 (1183).  
 45 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 310.  
 46 *Ibn Ġubayr*, in Qaṣr Sa‘d p. 303.  
 47 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 305.  
 48 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 305.  
 49 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 313.  
 50 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 299.  
 51 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 313.  
 52 Netton (1991), pp. 21–37.  
 53 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 296.  
 54 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 282.  
 55 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 297.  
 56 Hillenbrand (1999) especially Chapter 5, ‘How the Muslims Saw the Franks: Ethnic and Religious Stereotypes’, pp. 257–321 *passim*.  
 57 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 306. For the foundation of the church, see Cusa, p. 68.  
 58 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 301. ‘*min a‘ġab al-masmū‘āt al-ṣaḥīḥa*’.  
 59 Cusa, pp. 1–3 and 541–9.  
 60 See Cusa, p. 471 for reference to a rebellion in the Val Demone which appears to have simmered until as late as the 1140s.  
 61 Cusa, p. 402. Cf. also von Falkenhausen (1995) pp. 275–6.  
 62 *Ibn Hawqal*, p. 119;

throughout its lands are plantations in which papyrus (*al-b.rbīr*), that is to say, the papyrus plant (*al-bardī*) predominates and from which scrolls are made. I am not aware of an equal to the papyrus of Egypt on the face of the earth except in Sicily. The majority of it is wound into rope for ships’ anchors, while the lesser part is used by the administration from which they make the scrolls of paper, but they do not exceed their minimum requirement.

- 63 Johns (1993a) pp. 136–7.  
 64 Cusa, pp. 515–17.  
 65 Al-Maqrīzī, III, pp. 18–20. Cf. also A. De Simone, ‘*Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo visto dall’Islam africano*’ (forthcoming) in *Tredicesimo Giornate di studi normanno-svevi sul tema ‘il mezzogiorno normanno-svevo visto dal mondo mediterraneo* (21–24 October) Bari.  
 66 ‘Tillis’ or ‘Tallis’ could refer to a type of large sack (or even grain-sack?) used in the Magrib and so maybe refers to Roger metaphorically as a wheat-grower, or perhaps to his physical size or shape. However, it was also attested as a name of a twelfth-century Sicilian villein from Raḥl Mināwī (cf. Cusa, p. 265) so it is unlikely to denote a specific position or office in that particular case. El-Said Badawi and Hinds (1986), p. 135 give the origin of *tallis* as Coptic, although this claim raises as many problems as it might possibly solve. If true, we might have concluded that this appellation, recorded in an Egyptian source, was the nickname Roger was known by in Egypt, had it not also been attested as a name in Sicily.  
 67 There may also be a sense that he was ‘an artful type’.  
 68 He was probably appointed *amiratus* by 1124 and was first attested as *Amir of Amirs* in February 1133 cf. Ménager (1960) appendix II, no. 23.  
 69 Al-Tiġānī BAS (Arabic version) p. 448; translation in Amari, p. 161 ‘*wa-kān qad ‘araf liṣān al-‘arab*’. Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, ‘*wa-qad ta‘allam al-lisān*’, BAS (Arabic version) p. 539; translation in Amari, p. 197. He also records how George was a financial expert who had worked for the Zirids.

- 70 cf. Amari, (1971) pp. 109–16. Ibn Ġubayr visited the Greek Orthodox church on Christmas Day 1184,  
there [in Palermo] we witnessed one of the most amazing things of the non-believers: the church known as the Antiochian church . . . of the buildings we set eyes on, its appearance was impossible to describe. It is without doubt the most wonderfully decorated of the earth's constructions. (*Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 306)
- 71 'Rex' also had the advantage of avoiding the Greek equivalent, 'Basileus', which was closely associated with the title of the Byzantine Emperor.
- 72 Ménager (1960) pp. 28–30.
- 73 Al-Tiġānī *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 449; translation in Amari, p. 161.
- 74 For an Italian translation and appraisal, see De Simone's article '*Alla corte di Ruggero II tra poesie e politica*' in *Nella Sicilia 'araba' tra storia e filologia*, (1999a).
- 75 For the poetry, see De Simone (1999a), pp. 3–15. Abū l-Ṣalt (1067–1134) was exiled from Egypt by the Fatimid vizier al-Afdal having failed to refloat a sunken ship, and first appeared at the Zirid court in Mahdiyya in 1111–12, where he remained until his death. He composed and compiled works of varying quality concerning maths, physics and astronomy. See also Stern's short article in *EI*<sup>2</sup> vol 1, p. 149.
- 76 For references to Abū l-Ḍaw's family connections in Sicily, see Cusa, pp. 61–6 (1138): *al-šaykh al-faqih al-qādī Abū l-Qāsim bin Raġā* and Cusa, pp. 101–6 (1161): *al-šaykh al-faqih al-qādī Abū l-Faḍl Raġā*, who was son of *al-šaykh al-faqih al-qādī 'Alī*, who was the son of *al-šaykh al-faqih al-qādī Abū l-Qāsim bin Raġā*.
- 77 Cf. Johns (1986) pp. 1–54.
- 78 See Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, especially pp. 257–8 and 275–83.
- 79 Only in two registers (relating to villeins and lands in Triocalà and Chūrchuro in the 1150s) does the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma'mūr* apparently act without having previously received the order of the King.
- 80 The *Siculi trilingues* of Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.5. in the 2nd century CE. Cf. also Peter of Eboli, line 56, '*hactenus urbs felix populo dotata trilingui*'; the 'Letter to Peter' attributed to *Falcandus*, p. 172; translation in Amari, p. 254 and *Peter of Blois*, Ep. 46, col. 134.
- 81 See Halm in Daftary (1996) pp. 75–83 and Brett (2001) pp. 117–18.
- 82 Tronzo (1997). For royal trilingual inscriptions, see Amari, (1971) pp. 29–38 and pp. 198–214.
- 83 Kitzinger (1976) argues that the decorative and architectural styles of the Cappella Palatina are representative of a Latin (Norman French), Greek and Arab-Muslim cultural synthesis. For the extreme notion of Sicilian social and political tolerance, see Douglas (1976); Marongiu (1963) pp. 307–20; Giunta and Rizzitano (1967) and more recently Houben (1996) pp. 213–42.
- 84 Cusa, p. 403.
- 85 Cusa, p. 385.
- 86 For example, Cusa, p. 129.
- 87 According to Malaterra (II.33, pp. 44–5) four camels were sent to the Pope after the battle of Cerami in 1063, presumably prized for their exotic novelty value and their association with the east. The Pope, we are told, rejoiced more from the victory granted by God over the pagans than from the gifts themselves.
- 88 See Johns (1986) pp. 11–54.
- 89 e.g. Cusa, p. 134.
- 90 e.g. Cusa, p. 245.

- 91 On this and their wider political and administrative roles see Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, pp. 212–288.
- 92 ‘Completely castrated servants’, see *Ibn Ḡubayr*, p. 324. On the role of eunuchs in medieval Islamic countries generally, see David Ayalon’s excellent work *Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans: a study in power relationships*, Jerusalem, 1999.
- 93 George of Antioch may have brought the first retinue of pre-pubescent Saracen youths from the expedition against Mahdiyya in 1123 to be converted into the palace eunuchs. For alleged political dealings between the eunuchs and the Almohads over the African revolt, see *Falcandus*, p. 27, ‘*nam se [the Almohad King] litteras eunuchorum palatii nuperrime recepisse, quibus rei veritatem plenedidicerat*’.
- 94 Generally, see ‘Djarba’ in EI<sup>2</sup> vol. II pp. 458–60. See footnotes references below to Ibn al-Aṭīr and al-Idrīsī.
- 95 For an Arabic-French version of al-Idrīsī, see the *Description de l’Afrique et de l’Espagne*, translation and notes by R. Dozy and M. de Goeje, Amsterdam, 1969, pp. 127–8 and 150–2. For the older French translation of Jaubert, see (1836–40) p. 281. More recently, a revised French translation (but with indices) has been made by Henri Bresc and Anliese Nef 1999, Flammarion, Paris.
- 96 Offering broadly parallel accounts are: Ibn al-Aṭīr *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 327; translation in Amari, p. 117. Al-Tiḡānī *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 440; translation in Amari, p. 158. Al-Nuwayrī *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 507; translation in Amari, p. 185. Ibn Khaldūn *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 548; translation in Amari, p. 201. Ibn Abī Dīnār *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 605; translation in Amari, p. 219. See also, al-Idrīsī, *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 74; translation in Amari, p. 34.
- 97 Brett (1995) p. 348.
- 98 Canard (1973).
- 99 ‘*ḡa’ala-hum khawalan la-hu*’. Ibn Abī Dīnār *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 605; translation in Amari, p. 219. Michele Amari suggested ‘villeins’ as a translation of *khawal*, although the term may always have had an effeminate connotation to it. Certainly, in modern Egyptian slang, the term refers offensively to a ‘passive homosexual’, (see El-Said Badawi and Hinds (1986) p. 269). Edward Lane’s *Arabic-English Lexicon* (part II, p. 825) records that the same form of the word could be applied equally to a male or a female slave. His first-hand description of mid-nineteenth century effeminate transvestite dancers called *khawal* in *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London, 1989 reprint of 1836 original, pp. 376–7) makes for interesting reading too. For the meaning of *khawal* as a dancer, see also Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, vol I, 1881, p. 413. This raises the intriguing possibility (but little more) that, rather than accorded villein status and put to work on crown lands in Sicily as Amari’s translation would imply, the Djerbans may actually have been a source for Roger’s personal slaves. Did they become the ‘she-men’ or eunuchs around the royal palace in Palermo? Furthermore, we know from Ibn Khaldūn *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 515; translation in Amari, p. 187 that at least one ‘palace Saracen’, the famous *qā’id* Peter, was a Djerban.
- 100 ‘*a puero enutrieram ut catholicum*’, *Romuald*, p. 235. Note a similar description of Matthew of Salerno, although Matthew was not a eunuch, that ‘*in aula regia a puero enutritus*’, *Romuald*, p. 258.
- 101 *iuxta sacrum nostrum Panormi palatium in loco qui dicitur Kemonia, prope ecclesiam Sancti Georgii duximus dedicandum, ut sicut ad substentationem corporalis vitae sub titulo regiae dignitatis nos pro conservanda quiete divina providentia in ipso nostro palatio temporaliter collocavit.*  
(Roger II *Diplomata*, 76: 217–23)

- 102 *Romuald*, p. 235 ‘*se esse Christianum ostenderet, totus erat mente et opere Sarracenus*’. Ibn al-Aṭīr comments similarly about Philip and his servants, *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 338; translation in Amari, p. 122.
- 103 *Falcandus*, p. 25 ‘*isque [gaytus Petrus], sicut et omnes eunuchi palatii, nomine tantum habituque christianus erat, animo saracenus*’. The claim may be exaggerated. Qā’id Richard for one seems to have been accepted as a genuine convert.
- 104 White (1938) p. 278.
- 105 For the massacres, see *Falcandus*, p. 56 and *Romuald*, p. 248 who mentions that the ‘Lombards’ even entered lands of the royal demesne to kill Muslim villeins. For Martin’s revenge, see *Falcandus*, p. 80. In 1161 Martin was attested as *Ṣāhib Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma’mūr*, see Cusa, p. 622.
- 106 *Falcandus*, p. 45, ‘*cum Andreas eunuchus ac plerique alii tortoribus traditi cogerentur indicare quidquid de rebus Maionis scirent*’. Nothing further is known of the eunuch Andrew.
- 107 *Falcandus*, p. 77, ‘*quem [gaytum Iohar eunuchum] rex impositum lintri, deduci iussit in pelagus ibique submergi*’.
- 108 According to *Falcandus*, pp. 25–6 Peter’s duplicity was the cause of the failure, although Arabic sources are more lenient. Ibn al-Aṭīr *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 344; translation in Amari, p. 125, says that the Muslims were granted victory due to the prayers of their leader ‘Abd al-Mu’min, who was coincidentally of the same Ṣanhāḡa tribe as Peter.
- 109 *Romuald*, pp. 234–6.
- 110 ‘*apostantes a fide catholica penitus execramus, ultionibus insequimur, bonis omnibus poliamus*’, for the Assizes, see Brandileone (1884), pp. 94–138.
- 111 Ibn al-Aṭīr, *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 338; translation in Amari, p. 122.
- 112 *Romuald*, p. 236.
- 113 *circa finem autem vitae suae secularibus negotiis aliquantum postpositis et omissis, Iudaeos et Sarracenos ad fidem Christi convertere modis omnibus laborabat, et conversis dona plurima et necessaria conferebat.* (*Romuald* p. 236)
- 114 Ibn al-Aṭīr, *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 338; translation in Amari, p. 122, recorded that Roger died of ‘a blockage of the throat’ (*khawānīq*). In a modern sense, this can also be translated as angina, often a sign of heart disease, although this sense is not attested in the medieval period. Ibn al-Aṭīr appeared to be well-informed on the intimate afflictions of the Sicilian elite, claiming that George of Antioch suffered from gallstones and piles. On the other hand, *Falcandus*, suggested the cause of Roger’s death was ‘senility and an unhealthy devotion to sex,’ ‘*tum immensis attritus laboribus, tum ultra quam bona corporis exigeret valetudo rebus assuetus veneriis, immatura senectute consumptus, cessit in fata*’ (*Falcandus*, p. 7). The idea of a sex-crazed lunatic in charge harks back to many similar figures in classical literature, such as Tacitus on Tiberius, Suetonius on Gaius Caligula, Nero, etc. and even tragic Greek figures such as Euripides’ Pentheus.
- 115 There is no equivalent ritual in Islam that corresponds to the defining moment of a Christian baptism. It is suggested that this might have affected perceptions and attitudes towards subsequent conversions away from Islam. See Bulliet (1979) pp. 33–4.
- 116 The Qur’ān XVI, 106–9. Echoed elsewhere cf. The Qur’ān III, 80–4; IV, 136; V, 59 and IX, 67. Ibn Gubayr, invoked this clause to legitimize the conversion of Ibn Zur’a (see note 116 below). For the general topic of apostasy see *murtadd* by Heffening in *EI*<sup>2</sup> vol. VII, pp. 635–6.
- 117 Strothmann and Djebli in *EI*<sup>2</sup> vol. X, pp. 134–6.

- 118 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 313.
- 119 ‘He had a mosque opposite his house which he turned into a church (we seek protection from Allāh from the effects of misery (*al-šaqāwa*) and the results of error!)’ (*al-ḍalāla*). However, we heard that he hides his faith and maybe he comes under the [Quranic] phrase, ‘save him who is forced thereto and whose heart is still content with the Faith’. *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 313.
- 120 *Ibn Ḥawqal*, p. 118, explained;  
 there [in Palermo] is the great congregational mosque which was a Byzantine Greek (*Rūm*) church before its conquest [of Sicily] where there is a great shrine (*haykāl*). Some thinkers say that a Greek philosopher, that is Aristotle, is in a wooden coffin fixed in the shrine which the Muslims had converted into a mosque, and they say that the Christians used to revere his tomb, and sought cures from it since they had seen the importance and esteem the [ancient] Greeks (*al-Yūnān*) had attached to it.
- 121 *William of Apulia*, III, pp. 182–3.
- 122 *Ibn Ḥamdīs*, *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 651; translation in Amari, p. 234.
- 123 *Catana Sacra*, p. 85 ‘*mischitam olim Saracenorum ad honorem Dei et Beati martyris Thomae Cantuariensis archiepiscopi in ecclesiam transferre*’.
- 124 Cusa, p. 231 *masġid l-Bārid*, translated as *mesitam berdi* in the Latin, cf. p. 195 op. cit.
- 125 White (1938) pp. 59–60.
- 126 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 315.
- 127 The Christian-sounding *qā'id* Yūsuf Qissīs- ‘Joseph Priest’. Cusa, p. 265a.
- 128 Cusa, pp. 515 and 29.

3 ‘NORMANS’, ‘LOMBARDS’, ‘GREEKS’, ‘ARABS’,  
 ‘BERBERS’ AND JEWS

- 1 von Falkenhausen (1980) p. 135.
- 2 Ménager (1975) pp. 261–386.
- 3 *Falcandus*, pp. 70, 118 and 156 for Lombards and pp. 77, 93 and 133 for Longobards.
- 4 *Amatus*, V, 12, p. 234.
- 5 *Malaterra*, II.33, p. 44 ‘*videntes autem nostros tantam condensitatem inimicorum paganorum ac Siciliensium*’.
- 6 *Malaterra*, III.20, p. 69.
- 7 Peri (1978) p. 63.
- 8 *Peter of Blois*, Ep. 46, col. 133.
- 9 Cusa, pp. 587a (1095/1145); 594a (1095/1145); 171a (in 1178) and 280b twice (1183).
- 10 *Malaterra*, II.33, p. 42 ‘*Africani igitur et Arabici cum Sicilienses*’.
- 11 Cusa, p. 202.
- 12 Cusa, p. 358 (1099?).
- 13 τοῦ τοποῦ τοῦ λεγωμένου σαρακενοῦ, Cusa, p. 510 (in 1097) and again at pp. 537 and 559. There is some debate about the origin of the term *Sarracenus*. Although not attested in Arabic, it may have come from the Arabic ‘*Šarqī*’ or from Sawāriqa tribe, the plural of \**Sāriqī*, see Caracausi (1993) p. 513. Perhaps more plausibly, like the Greek ‘*Hagerene*’ (< *Hagar*, Abraham’s concubine), it may have been of biblical inspiration and referred to Sarah, his wife.
- 14 Genesis, xxi.9–21.

- 15 Cusa, p. 18. The term is attested sporadically in Greek from the tenth to the end of the twelfth century, cf. *Trincherà*, p. 9 (999?) Cusa, pp. 1 (1095), 303 (1142), 32 (1153), 81 (1172), 48 (1190).
- 16 Cusa, p. 1.
- 17 Cusa, p. 303.
- 18 Caracausi (1993) p. 18.
- 19 Cusa, p. 18 in 1141. In the modern Greek-based Bovese dialect ‘*arabo*’ means ‘*cattivo e brutto*’, ‘*sterile, incolto*’, see Caracausi (1990) p. 63.
- 20 Cusa, pp. 243–4.
- 21 Caracausi (1990) p. 63.
- 22 Cusa, p. 512.
- 23 Cusa, p. 330.
- 24 Cusa, p. 339. Note also the modern surname *Arabito*, see Caracausi (1993) p. 64.
- 25 *Romuald*, p. 242.
- 26 *Romuald*, p. 235.
- 27 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 296 repeated on p. 302.
- 28 *Ibn Ġubayr*, pp. 296–7.
- 29 Notably De Simone (1979) and Bresc and Nef (1998) *passim*.
- 30 Bresc (1985) p. 248 and p. 259, repeated in Bresc and Nef (1998) p. 136.
- 31 Amari, *SMS* pp. 48–9. Segesta was well-known even in Classical times. Virgil (*Aeneid* Bk. V, line 718) associated it with the Trojan, Acestes, who founded the town as ‘Acesta’, although the connection with ‘seges’ meaning ‘an ear of corn’ is perhaps a more likely explanation.
- 32 For the early Khurasānī military contingents, see Amari, *SMS*, I, p. 267.
- 33 Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, ed. M. Makhzūm, Beirut, 1987, pp. 200–1.
- 34 On the decline of Christian communities across North Africa in the Middle Ages, see Talbi (1990) pp. 315–51. However, their decline was not always rectilinear. See Brett (1995) pp. 341–5 for the large Christian presence in the commercial towns of Norman Ifrīqīya.
- 35 For the Latin-speaking Ifrīqīyans (*al-Laṭīnī al-Ifrīqī*) of the southern Djerid oases, see Lewicki (1953) p. 415ff.
- 36 Sigeberto of Gembloux, p. 454, *Chronica, Continuatio Praemonstratensis*, ed. L. C. Bethman, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 6, Hanover, 1844.
- 37 Ibn al-Aṭīr *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 332; translation in Amari, p. 119. A royal Sicilian register from 1141 hints that, on arrival, they may have been assigned the status of landless villeins (ADM, Seville, no. 1119 (S2001)).
- 38 *Malaterra*, II.36, p. 47 and IV.12, p. 92.
- 39 *Malaterra*, IV.16, p. 95.
- 40 See Brett (1995) pp. 341–5.
- 41 De Simone (1979) p. 46.
- 42 Schimmel (1989) p. 11. cf Cusa, p. 580a *λεντούλοσι* and p. 252a *λινδούλοσ[ι]* both for *al-Andalusī*.
- 43 Schimmel (1989) p. 7.
- 44 Schimmel (1989) pp. 69 and 75. These forms seem to have resulted from the *ḍamma tanwīn* ending ‘-un’ that has been lengthened to ‘-ūn’, known as *išbāʿ*, perhaps for emphatic effect or due to an oxytonic stress pattern. It has also been suggested by Dozy that this termination gave rise to the aggrandizing suffix ‘-one’ in Italian. If this connection could be corroborated, it suggests that *ḍamma tanwīn* had lost its grammatical function but had taken on a new semantic one of emphasis.
- 45 Line 24 of the manuscript in the (Seville, ADM 1119) reveals six individuals with the *nisba* al-Ifrīqī. Two are from Tripoli and two from Sfax; one each from Gabes, Tunis, Qalūnus and one from the Berber tribe, Zuwūwa.

- 46 Ibn al-Aṭīr *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 332; translation in Amari, p. 119.  
 47 Amari, *SMS*, II, p. 52.  
 48 See Guichard (1990) pp. 171–6 on the ethno-cultural question of Berber settlement and Arabicization in Valencia.  
 49 Brett and Fentress (1996) p. 276.  
 50 Brett and Fentress (1996) p. 122.  
 51 Yāqūt *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 119; translation in Amari, p. 49.  
 52 D. G. M. Barbera, *Arabo e berbero nel linguaggio italo-siculo*, Beirut, 1935.  
 53 Barbara (1935) pp. 60 and 78.  
 54 Pellegrini (1972), pp. 483–4 and Várvaro (1981) p. 123.  
 55 See references to Sicily as ‘Paradise’ (*ġanna*) by Ibn Ḥamdīs, see *BAS Arabic* pp. 619 and 621; translation in Amari pp. 224 and 225 respectively. For the idea of the island under the Normans as a ‘Paradise Lost’, see the surviving fragment from the Palermitan poet, ‘Abd l-Ḥalīm b. ‘Abd l-Wāḥid, quoted in ‘Imād al-Dīn al-İṣfahānī *BAS* (Arabic version) pp. 705–6; translation in Amari, p. 256.  
 56 ‘I have taken *taġanna* as my homeland as I have abandoned my homeland of Sicily’. Ibn Ḥamdīs *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 683; translation in Amari, p. 247. The poem was written in praise of the last Zirid *amīr* of Mahdiyya, al-Ḥasan bin ‘Alī (1121–52), no later than 1132–3 when Ibn Ḥamdīs is thought to have died.  
 57 Elcock (1960) p. 293. A few terms of specifically Maġribī Arabic origin attested in Sicily are cited in passing in Metcalfe (2001).  
 58 For several references see, Caracausi (1990) pp. 144 and 625.  
 59 Cusa, p. 98 (c.1160–c.1200).  
 60 Peri (1978) pp. 80, 114, 133 and 140. Guillou (1963) pp. 24 and 29.  
 61 Demus (1950) p. 76 argues that although the elements of architectural form of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo were essentially Byzantine, ‘it does not follow that the workmen who built the church were Byzantine’.  
 62 Cusa, pp. 583–4.  
 63 Cusa, pp. 194 and 229.  
 64 Goitein and Bresc (1970) pp. 903–17.  
 65 Asher (1840) p. 43.  
 66 Milano (1963) pp. 105ff.  
 67 Asher (1840) pp. 41–5 and 159–61.  
 68 Abraham b. Samuel Abulafia *Ozar ‘Eden ganuz*. Extract edited by A. Neubauer in *Revue des études juives* 9 (1884), p. 149. Also quoted in Abulafia (1990) p. 118 and C. Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy*, Philadelphia, 1946.  
 69 For example, see the problems caused by poor attempts in 1344, 1506 and the centuries that followed to translate two royal charters written only in Arabic, see Johns and Metcalfe (1999) pp. 238–42.  
 70 An extremely useful bibliography for Jewish Sicily has been compiled by Professor Giuseppe Martino and, at the time of writing, can be found at [www.dieli.net/BibliographyPage/biblioebraismo.html](http://www.dieli.net/BibliographyPage/biblioebraismo.html)

#### 4 AT THE MARGINS OF THE ARABIC-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES

- 1 Peri (1978) p. 6.  
 2 *Ibn Gubayr*, p. 301.  
 3 Cusa, pp. 472–80 and the *Rollus Rubeus* pp. 39–41.  
 4 The register from the *Rollus Rubeus Priviligia ecclesiae Cephaleditane*, ed. C. Mirto, Palermo, 1972, pp. 39–41, appears to have been made directly in Latin, and not transliterated from Greek or Arabic. It contains some 7 per cent

- of names of Latin derivation, but this includes the following professional names that may have been deliberately translated by the scribe, and so distort the data. *Abdellzeft Faber, Abdesseid Carpentarius, Bulcasem Carpentarius, Mule Furnarius*. This would not account for *Hamet Lupus, Mohumet Barisarius*, or *Sidilza el Bambaca*.
- 5 The twenty most popular names from the Sicilian villein registers, in order, are: ‘*Alī, ‘Umar, Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, ‘Uṭmān, Ḥasan, ‘Abdallāh, Maymūn, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, Yūsuf, Aḥmad, Ibrahīm, Ḥusayn, Makhlūf, Abū l-Qasim, Hammūd, Abū l-Futūḥ, ‘Isā, Mūsā and Sulaymān*’.
  - 6 See Caracausi (1990b) p. 9 for Arabic names showing Greek influence. There also remains a problem of how to count or discount such names. Previously, it has been common to cite translated terms and toponyms as signs of Greek influence. (Caracausi, *op. cit.* pp. 109–10). In fact, these need not show anything of the sort. The forms *al-Batrālī* > *τῆς πετραλίας* (Cusa, p. 145a) is most probably due to a Greek scribe who has Hellenicized the Arabic place-name and tells us nothing of the man whose name it was.
  - 7 We might also take into account that the figures given do not include a small number of names that have not yet been unidentified, but which do not seem to be Arabic.
  - 8 Guillou (1974) pp. 177 and 180.
  - 9 Cusa, pp. 26–7. Little is known of Roger Fesca, but his name appears on a fragmentary villein register perhaps dating from the same period (Cusa, pp. 614–5). A confirmation of this register was made in Latin in April 1196, see *Constantiae Imperatricis Diplomata*, no. 24, pp. 89–92.
  - 10 Al-Šabbūṭī is a Syrian name for a fish found in the Tigris or Euphrates. He may have had a servant called ‘Fāṭima’ cf. Cusa, p. 594a.
  - 11 *Amatus*, V.11, p. 234. However, by the end of the eleventh century, all indications suggest that the numbers of Muslims in Calabria must have been tiny.
  - 12 *La Théotokos de Hagia Agathè*, pp. 29–30.
  - 13 For the Garufi version, see ‘Censimento e catasto della popolazione servile’, in *Archivio storico siciliano*, xlix, (1928) pp. 92–100. A new edition is being prepared by Johns and Metcalfe under the possible title of ‘A twelfth-century Latin villein register from Patti in Sicily’. Henceforth: Johns and Metcalfe, *Patti* (forthcoming).
  - 14 Johns and Metcalfe, *Patti* (forthcoming).
  - 15 *Roger II Diplomata*, no. 23, pp. 64–6.
  - 16 von Falkenhausen (1987) pp. 47ff suggests that this may have followed an influx of Greek Christians from Calabria into the area around this time.
  - 17 ‘*Audita tandem memoratorii continentia et vulgariter exposita, Pactenses consilium habuerunt*’. Roger II *Diplomata*, (1987) no. 23, p. 65.
  - 18 Relating to Catania, Aci, Nicótera and Palermo. Cusa, pp. 1–3, 563–95, 26–7. Two of these registers included names that were written in Greek.
  - 19 Cusa, p. 511.
  - 20 Cusa, pp. 512–3.
  - 21 The third most prominent ‘Roger’ was Roger Borsa, the Duke of Apulia whose death in 1111 again suggests a date for the register from the late eleventh or early twelfth century.
  - 22 The only exception being ‘*Mugulufis tu asuestari*’, which can be restored to \**μουχρολούφης τοῦ ἀσβεστάρου* or \**Makhlūf* (Arabic), son of *Asbestari[s]* (Greek).
  - 23 References here are to the manuscript version. Letters refer to columns (left to right), numbers to rows.



- 24 For references and many cross-references, see Caracausi (1993).
- 25 Referenced to A12 and B12 in the manuscript.
- 26 The site of Focerò has yet to be discovered, but it is thought to lie to the west of Patti near Sant'Angelo di Brolo.
- 27 See also a cryptic reference to 'the rebellion of the feudatories' in a Greek document from 1123 (Cusa, p. 471), which is fully explored in Johns and Metcalfe, *Patti* (forthcoming).
- 28 These were not the only Muslims to be held by the church. In 1132 a Greek deed records the boundaries of 'Ραχλατζουχάρ (< Raḥl Ġawhār) and the names of thirty men granted to it from the royal demesne (Cusa, pp. 513–5). Raḥl Ġawhār lies much further to the south of Patti and all thirty of its villeins bore Arab-Islamic names.
- 29 A view held by Alberto Várvaro (1981) pp. 156–7.
- 30 Cusa, pp. 1–3.
- 31 The derivation of a certain *Ḥammūd al-B.ṭrīsa* (Cusa, 3b) is uncertain.
- 32 Cusa, p. 143.
- 33 Cusa, p. 242 and Ménager (1982) pp. 315–6.
- 34 Collura, *Agrigento*, no. 17, p. 45 and no. 25, p. 61. The reference itself may be anachronistic and refer to the deportation of Muslims to Lucera in 1246 under Frederick II. The dates for Gentile as Bishop of Agrigento however are from 1154–71.
- 35 Garufi, p. 39. But according to Johns (1995) p. 144, four villeins (*Abraham eben Eliayhir, Filippus eben Muheres, Abisseid eben Bussid, Seidun eben elsaba eben ettauil*) were donated. These names are slightly different to those in Garufi's 1181 version.
- 36 Garufi, pp. 173–4.
- 37 By 1181, they were presumably old men, had they also been around in 1140.
- 38 Johns (1995) p. 145.
- 39 One of the often-repeated conclusions made in the Johns (1995) article.
- 40 *Documenti inediti*, pp. 186–8.
- 41 Abraam was the son of Eliaihar etc. However, it is not possible, from the text of the donation, to match up which sons belonged to which fathers between the second and third generations, although we are told that the relationship between all was father and son.
- 42 Cusa, p. 280a.
- 43 Or perhaps from the Latin 'sal' as in the modern Sicilian name 'Sale'? Three other (unnamed) Muslims from the first generation had died, but three of their living sons were named i.e. *Bulfadal Sale, Abdesseid* and *Omor eben Tuluctet*.
- 44 Cusa, p. 580b.
- 45 Johns (1995) p. 145, identifies Philip son of Mukhriz as a possible convert. If either of them had converted, it is equally likely that it was Mukhriz who consequently gave his son a Greek-based name. While it is known that almost all the palace Saracens adopted Christian names on conversion, there is no evidence that villeins did the same. Given the presence of Arabic-named Christian villeins elsewhere in Sicily, it is unsafe to assume that non-Arabic names were adopted on conversion to Christianity.
- 46 Cusa, p. 76.
- 47 Cusa, p. 32.
- 48 Cusa, p. 28.
- 49 Cusa, p. 669.
- 50 Guillou, *Les actes grecs*, p. 55.

- 51 The name ‘Barūn’ presents some difficulties. The *qā’id* Peter is attested as both ‘Petrus’ and ‘Barūn’ in a trilingual inscription from Termini made in 1152–3 (see Amari *Le epigraphi arabi*, pp. 63–6 for the inscription). Phonetically, this form is close to the Frankish word ‘baron’, ultimately from the Latin ‘baronus’. ‘Barūn’ is phonetically less close to the French names ‘Pierre’ and ‘Pierron’, although it is tempting to form an association between them, see Johns *Royal Diwān*. *Bārūn* is attested in Arabic as meaning ‘baron’ (Dozy, *Supplément*, p. 48), but only from the modern period. The possibility that it is a Sicilian version of *bār<sup>um</sup>* > *bārūn* a ‘well-digger’ or from *burūn* meaning ‘a pitcher’ is remote. However, the personal name ‘bārūn’ is also attested three times in Arabic elsewhere in Sicily. In 1149, *qā’id Bariūn* appears on a royal register edited by Johns and Metcalfe (1999), p. 245. Second, a close variant occurs as a name of a Christian villein from Corleone in 1178 (Khilfa bin Bārūn = *χίλφε ἔπιν περούν*, see Cusa, p. 146b). Finally, ‘al-Barūn’ was also the name of a twelfth-century Sicilian poet Abū Faḍl Ġa’far bin al-Barūn al-Ṣiqillī (d. 1201, see *BAS* Arabic version p. 703; translation in Amari, p. 255). Here the use of the definite article in the Arabic suggests a proper noun used as a personal name, which points slightly in favour of it being a loan word from the Frankish ‘baron’ rather than from the French personal name ‘Pierre’ or ‘Pierron’. Otherwise, in Sicily only the terms Bātrū or Bātrū are attested as confirmed equivalents for Peter (see Cusa, p. 592a for the *παῖδες πέτρου σπεβούτι* and Cusa, pp. 205–6/182 for *kudyat Bātrū* > monticulus petri; *k.niysat Bātrū* > ecclesia Petri, and pp. 234/196 for *Bāb Bū Šant Bātrū* > porta sancti petri).
- 52 As recorded by Ibn Khaldūn. See *BAS* (Arabic version), p. 515; translation in Amari, p. 187.
- 53 As recorded in a Latin translation from 1258 of a Greek-Arabic original from August 1175. See Spata, 2nd series, no. 9, pp. 451–6. See Jamison (1957), pp. 56–8 for similarly-named *amīr*-s.
- 54 Berschin (1988) p. 211.
- 55 Várvaro (1981) pp. 156–7.
- 56 Cusa, p. 663 in 1172.
- 57 Cusa, p. 123 in 1191.
- 58 Cusa, p. 118.
- 59 Guillou, *Les actes grecs*, p. 55.
- 60 Peter of Castronuovo is possibly identical to the Master Captain of Apulia in the mid-1150s, who had the same name. See *Falcandus*, p. 67 and Loud and Wiedemann (1998) p. 119.
- 61 Cusa, p. 76. There are several references to pigs and most occur in the context of pannage rights attached to churches, which in part may account for why there are few references from south-west Sicily.
- 62 Cusa reads ‘Y.dmān bin al-Mūs’.
- 63 Cusa reads *ὁ χαλφάτης*.
- 64 Cases of uncertain origins include: (Cusa, 253b) *διπάνου*, *Aḥmad D.bānū*; (269a) *τάοις*, *Tāw.s*; (272b) *πισέρι*, *rabīb l-Biṣārī* Greek/Latin fisherman?; (278a) *ὁ μιδερουίλ* *Mūsā al-M.dr.w./al-M.drūl*.
- 65 Cusa reads *σπίβλε*.
- 66 Cusa, pp. 145–7.
- 67 Cusa, p. 146b.
- 68 Cusa, p. 146b.
- 69 As an Arabicized form of a Greek name which also occurs in Malta, ‘Brincat’ is of particular interest as evidence of links between the two islands.
- 70 Kedar (1984) p. 51.

- 71 Guillou, *Les actes grecs*, pp. 51–5.
- 72 Johns (1995) p. 152.
- 73 Caracausi (1993) vol. I, p. 328.
- 74 *Documenti Inediti*, pp. 25–6.
- 75 *Falcandus*, p. 70.
- 76 See Cusa, p. 68 for the church's foundation. The full version of the hymn is given in Amari (1971) pp. 109–16.
- 77 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 307.
- 78 See Loud and Wiedemann (1998) p. 159 for Stephen's genealogical connections.
- 79 *Falcandus*, pp. 115–18. The 'shrine' is described as an *antiquissimum templum Sarracenorum* and may have been a *zāwiya* or prayer niche, room or small mosque.
- 80 '*multos apud eum [i.e. Stephen] accusaverunt apostatas de Christianis Sarracenos effectos, qui sub eunuchorum protectione diu latuerant*'. *Falcandus*, p. 115.
- 81 *Italia Pontificia* X.232, no. 231. See also Loud and Wiedemann (1998) p. 166.
- 82 For the alleged violation of a Christian woman on a church altar at the hands of a Muslim attacker who was undeterred even when she appealed to him 'in his own tongue', see Palmieri (1987) pp. 608–9.
- 83 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 297.
- 84 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 302.
- 85 *Falcandus*, p. 70.
- 86 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 305.

#### 5 COMMUNICATION AROUND THE ROYAL PALACES AND ARABIC AS A LANGUAGE OF THE RULING ELITE

- 1 Moritz (1910) p. 294.
- 2 Ibn al-Aṭīr, *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 329; translation in Amari, p. 118. In Szymanowsky's opera 'King Roger', which re-works Euripides' *Bacchae* in a twelfth-century setting, al-Idrīsī plays a similar sage character. Houben (1996) p. 224, actually identifies al-Idrīsī with Ibn al-Aṭīr's prescient Muslim, although in his history it is stated that he was from the '*ulamā*', which al-Idrīsī was not.
- 3 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 298.
- 4 Cusa, p. 385.
- 5 von Falkenhausen (1998) pp. 284–6.
- 6 Ibn al-Aṭīr, *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 320; translation in Amari, p. 115.
- 7 The former was a grammar specialist who worked in the Fatimid *Dīwān al-Inṣā'* and is thought to have died in Cairo in 1121. The latter was instrumental in the establishment of the Egyptian *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq* in 1107–8. It is intriguing to imagine that Fatimid-Sicilian administrative influence might have been a two-way process.
- 8 The anti-Norman poet, Ibn Ḥamdīs is perhaps the most notable. He was born in Syracuse around 1056 but spent most of his life at courts in Seville and Africa and died around 1135.
- 9 Quoted in 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 708; translation in Amari, p. 257.
- 10 *BAS* (Arabic version) pp. 707 & 434–9; translation in Amari, pp. 256–7.
- 11 Al-Idrīsī *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 30; translation in Amari, p. 9.
- 12 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī related that, according to Ibn Baṣrūn, a geographer called Muḥammad bin Muḥammad (i.e. al-Idrīsī) had not only written a work for Roger II, but also a larger one in the same genre for William I called *Rawḍ al-Uns wa-Nuzhat al-Nafs*. See *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 736; translation in

- Amari, p. 269. This may account for the discrepancy in the information quoted from al-Idrīsī by Abū l-Fidā' and his reference to a work called the *Kitāb al-Šarīf al-Idrīsī fī l-Mamālik wa-l-Masālik*. For this and further background information, see 'al-Idrīsī' in EI<sup>2</sup>, vol. III, pp. 1032–4.
- 13 See De Simone (1996) for an Italian translation of Ibn Qalāqīs's work *Al-Zahr al-Bāšim* and for the patronage of Abū l-Qāsim.
- 14 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 298; 'doctors and astrologers are taken great care of and are greatly desired to the extent that when someone mentions to him that a doctor or an astrologer is passing through the land he orders his detainment and showers him with such funds that he ceases to think of home'
- 15 According to Falcandus, a character called 'Salernus, described as a *medicus Salernus* at court and a *Salernitane urbis iudex* (Falcandus, p. 121) administered poison to Robert of Bellisina. As an author, Peter of Eboli himself could be considered as from the Salerno school. His *Liber in honorem Augusti* was dedicated to Henry VI in 1195, but he was lesser known for a scientific work produced in 1227 for Frederick II called *De Balneis Puteolanis*.
- 16 *Alexander of Telese*, I, 3, p. 8, 'dum adhuc puer sub matris tutela degeret'.
- 17 Houben (1996) p. 222, '[Ruggero II] aveva una buona conoscenza della lingua e cultura greca, perché era nato e cresciuto in Calabria'.
- 18 Filagato da Cerami, (1965) pp. 174–82.
- 19 *Falcandus*, p. 44.
- 20 *Peter of Blois*, Ep. 131, 'cum in Sicilia essem, sigillarius et doctor regis Guillelmi II, tunc pueri atque post reginam'. William was no more than thirteen or fourteen at the time. Cf. also Ep. 72, col. 224 'recolo quantas insidias aemulorum in palatio regis Siculi Willelmi secundi quandoque expertus sum.'
- 21 'Sicilia ... mihi odibilis', *Peter of Blois*, Ep. 46, col. 134.
- 22 *Peter of Blois*, Ep. 160, col. 455.
- 23 For Walter's background and name see Loewenthal (1972) pp. 75–82.
- 24 When William died in 1189, Joanna (1165–99) married Raymond of Toulouse who had been to Palestine with her brother.
- 25 von Falkenhausen (1979) pp. 150–1.
- 26 In William of Blois' comedy, 'Alda', the author claims that he had based his play on a (now lost) Greek work of Menander. William stated that he had seen a poor Latin translation of the play which he compares unfavourably with the style of Menander's original Greek version. ('Venerat in linguam nuper peregrina latinam/ Hec de Menandri fabula rapta sinu:/ Vilis et exul erat et rustica plebis in ore,/ Que fuerat comis uatis in ore sui.' Lines 13–16 of William of Blois' play called 'Alda'). However, as a northern European who had recently arrived in the southern Italian peninsula, it is highly improbable that he would have known any Greek. As such, he appears to have been trying to boost his literary acclaim by implying that he had consulted the original. This trivial remark highlights the extent to which an uncommon knowledge of Greek may have been regarded as prestigious among educated northern Europeans at the time.
- 27 *Peter of Eboli*, lines 867–8, the implication being that Tancred had learned Greek while in self-imposed exile in Byzantium where he had gone after the coup attempt of 1161.
- 28 Berschin (1988) p. 226.
- 29 *Falcandus*, p. 44.
- 30 Kordeuter and Labowsky, (1940) p. 6.
- 31 Minio-Paluello (1950) p. 90.
- 32 Jamison (1957) pp. 8–20. Also see op. cit. pp. 56–8 for details of the three different Sicilian administrators called 'Eugenius'.

- 33 Houben (1996) p. 222.
- 34 For this line of argument, see Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, Routledge, London, 1998, (reprinted 1999), pp. 17–20.
- 35 *cuius curia scola*, Minio-Paluello (1950) p. 90. Of his commissions, Aristippus states, ‘by order of my Lord William, the glorious king of the Two Sicilies, I was working on the translation of the *Opuscula* of Gregory of Nazianzus . . . and in addition I was preparing to translate into Latin, at the request of Maio, admiral of the Sicilian fleet, and Hugh, archbishop of Palermo, Diogenes’ book on the lives, habits and doctrines of the philosophers’. Kordeuter and Labowsky (1940), p. 6.
- 36 *Falcandus*, p. 85, ‘*ad inferiorem ingressum palatii se transtulerunt . . . ut ibidem in scolis regis filios invenirent, quos eorum preceptor Gualterius, Cephaludensis archidiaconus, in campanarium . . . asportarat*’. Oddly, Kehr (1902) p. 89 denied the existence of a school, whereas Enzensberger, (1981) p. 118 n. 73, states that, ‘*non disponiamo purtroppo di indicazioni più precise*’.
- 37 *Falcandus*, refers to them generically as either *eunuchi* or *saraceni palatii*.
- 38 Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 515; translation in Amari, p. 187 and al-Idrīsī in the Dozy and de Goeje text and French translation, pp. 127–8 and pp. 150–2. For the identification of Peter, see also Johns and Metcalfe (1999) p. 231 n. 24.
- 39 Cf. Cusa, p. 85. For the ‘*alāma* of the ‘palace Saracens’, see Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, chapter 9.
- 40 *Qā'id* Peter was a *familiaris* in 1162 with Richard Palmer (French and Latin) and the notary Matthew (Latin, Greek and Arabic, see below). The *qā'id* Richard is named as being among the coalition of *familiares* in 1168. Of these, half were high-ranking clerics from the Latin church (Walter of Palermo, Gentile of Agrigento, John of Malta, Romuald of Salerno and Richard Palmer) with only a couple from the Norman nobility (Richard of Molise and Roger of Geraci). These were joined by the notary Matthew and, for a time, the Spaniard Rodrigo.
- 41 *Falcandus*, pp. 112–3. Where a certain Peter the notary is said to be related to Matthew the notary.
- 42 The precise meaning and functions of the *mustakhlif* are not clear, but the general sense from the verb would indicate a meaning of ‘deputizing official’. Cf. Lane (1863) p. 795. It was recently pointed out to me by Jo Van Steenberghe that a *mustakhlif* may originally have been a servant who poured out drinking water. Thus, the position may, like a number of domestic court offices in the later Mamlūk empire, have lost its original domestic meaning and become one of the higher socio-political positions in the empire’s administration.
- 43 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 304.
- 44 He rose to prominence as a *familiaris* under William II after *qā'id* Peter had absconded in 1167 where he remained until the renewal of the triumvirates in October 1170. For a tabulated version of the comings and goings of the *familiares*, see Takayama (1993) pp. 120–1.
- 45 First attested as Master Chamberlain of the royal palace in 1166, see Takayama (1993) p. 219.
- 46 First attested as such in 1183, see Takayama (1993) p. 219.
- 47 *Falcandus*, p. 119, ‘*qā'id* Richard, along with the other eunuchs, was also most hostile to him [i.e. Stephen of Perche]’. *Falcandus* never explicitly stated that Richard was a eunuch; however his implication here is clear enough.
- 48 See White (1938) p. 278. In January 1186, Richard was given a life-tenure of the priory of St. Sophia of Vicari, provided that he restored it and its properties.
- 49 For the details of castration, see Ayalon (1999), especially pp. 304–315.

- 50 Referred to as such in 1161 cf Cusa, 622–4. Matthew’s experience as a notary can be tentatively traced as far back as the Treaty of Benevento in 1156 which he helped to draw up, see Loud and Wiedemann (1998) p. 251.
- 51 *Romuuald*, p. 257, where he also noted that Matthew was a *civis Salerni*. Hugo Falcandus (*Falcandus*, p. 81), confirmed that Matthew was *ipse Salernitanus*. On his palace upbringing, Romuuald usually referred to the palace complex as a *palatio*, and so *aula regia* need not refer to the main royal palace itself.
- 52 He is attested as *Magister notarius* from March 1164 and vice-chancellor from 1169. He was described by Falcandus, as being a *familiaris Maionis* who had learned to apply Maio’s political acumen; ‘*ad Maionis artes confugiens ... rumores dispergit in populo*’ having been ‘*in curia diutissime notarius extitisset, Maionisque semper adhesisset*’. *Falcandus*, pp. 28, 101 and 69.
- 53 *Falcandus*, pp. 101 and 145, where he uses the same phrase twice.
- 54 *Romuuald*, p. 257 for Matthew, cf. p. 233 for Roger as a *vir sapiens et discretus*.
- 55 *Falcandus*, p. 83.
- 56 *Falcandus*, p. 88, ‘*electum quoque Siracusanum, gaytum petrum, Matheum notarium, quos ipse sibi familiares elegerat*’. Matthew died in July 1193.
- 57 For notes on Matthew’s family, see Loud and Wiedemann (1998) pp. 81 and 217. His son Nicholas is attested as archbishop of Salerno (1182–1221), see also Matthew (1992) p. 218. Another son became the Count of Ajello under Tancred; a brother of his was the abbot of the monastery of the Holy Trinity, Venosa (1157/9–67). See also Houben (1996) pp. 158–9; another was Bishop of Catania (1168–9).
- 58 *cum autem eis terrarum feudorumque distinctiones, ususque et instituta curie prorsus essent incognita, neque libri consuetudinum, quos defetarios appellant, potuissent post captum palatium inveniri, placuit regi, visumque est necessarium, ut Matheum notarium eductum de carcere in pristinum officium revocaret ... ut ad componendum novos defetarios, eadem prioribus continentes putaretur sufficere.* (*Falcandus*, p. 69)
- 59 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 299.
- 60 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 296 describes Messina as ‘a Christian trading centre ... no Muslims have settled there’.
- 61 *Ibn Ġubayr*, p. 298, ‘one of the amazing things said of him [i.e. William II] is that he reads and writes in Arabic’.
- 62 William puts a lot of trust in his Muslims, relying on them in his important business matters to the extent that even the head chef is a Muslim. He also has a unit of black Muslim slaves whose commander is picked from among them. His servants are the ministers and equerries of whom a large group form his civil servants and are described as his elite who radiate the splendour of his kingdom with their magnificent clothes and horses, each having an entourage of servants and followers. (*Ibn Ġubayr*, pp. 297–8)
- 63 A vast number of horses also accompanied him [Roger II], advancing in order in either side, with saddles and reins adorned with gold or silver [...] there was not a servant there whose clothes were not decked with silk, to the extent that even the waiters were covered with silk tunics. (*Alexander of Telese*, II, 5–6: 26)
- 64 For a brief appraisal of Sicilian silk as a commodity (with wider bibliographical references), see Abulafia (1983) pp. 8–9. A product of the royal *tirāz* may have been a mantle made for Roger II and a robe of William II’s. The Arabic legend around the hem of the former states that it was made in the year 528 AH (= 1133–4 CE). William’s silk-lined and embroidered taffeta robe bears an Arabic and Latin inscription and is dated to 1181. Both are now housed in the Kunsthistorische Museum in Vienna.

- 65 For this argument, see U. Monneret de Villard ‘*La tessitura palermitana sotto i Normanni*’ ST, CXXIII (Vatican City, 1946) pp. 464–71.
- 66 D’Alverny (1957) pp. 32–43.
- 67 See Gherardi, *Chronica di Giovanni Villani*, VI, I, Firenze. Presumably Villani’s vernacular was a Florentine dialect.
- 68 Herodotus’s *Historia*, II, 2–3, Oxford Classical Texts, 1972.
- 69 There was a belief about him [Frederick II] that he wanted to find out what language and speech children would have when they were grown up, had they not spoken with anyone. So he ordered governesses and wet-nurses to give their milk to infants by suckling at their breasts, and to bathe and cleanse them, but in no way were they to show them affection or speak to them. For he wanted to know whether they would have Hebrew as a first language, or whether they would have Greek or Latin or Arabic or, indeed, the language of their parents to whom they had been born. But he laboured in vain because all the children died as infants as they were not able to live without the clapping, gestures, or the happy faces and affections of their governesses and nurses.  
(*Cronica fratris Salimbene de Adam*, I: 510, 355b, Bari 1966)
- 70 *Falcandus*, p. 127, ‘*ille Francorum se linguam ignorare, que maxime necessaria esset in curia respondebat*’.
- 71 On William Malcovenant, see Johns, *Royal Dīwān* pp. 321 and 324.
- 72 For example, see the conclusion drawn by Donald Matthew (1992) p. 220.
- 73 Johns and Metcalfe, (1999) p. 242 and *passim*.

#### 6 DEFINING THE LAND: THE MONREALE REGISTER OF BOUNDARIES FROM 1182

- 1 Pegamene no. 31 of the Monreale Tabulario in the Biblioteca Centrale, Palermo. For an edition of the 1178 register see Cusa, pp. 134–79; the 1182 register of boundaries Cusa, pp. 179–244 and the 1183 register of villeins, see Cusa, pp. 245–86. The whole bilingual text is reproduced, although not always reliably, in Cusa, pp. 174–244 and more recently, though no less inaccurately in a work by Giocchino Nania (1995).
- 2 Around the modern localities of S. Giuseppe Iato, Corleone, Case Battellaro di Sopra and Monte Maranfusa.
- 3 An Arabic-Latin, Latin-Arabic, index of toponyms and translated expressions can be found in Appendix A. Key secondary sources for the toponymy of western Sicily include: Di Giovanni (1892) pp. 438–96; La Corte (1902) pp. 336–45; White (1938) pp. 132–45; D’Angelo (1973) pp. 333–39; Bercher, Courteaux and Mouton (1979) pp. 525–47; Johns (1983) 186–230; (1985), 215–23; (1988), pp. 73–84 and (1993) pp. 61–93. See also, Spatafora (1993) pp. 1–26.
- 4 For Romance dialects, the key works in this respect are; Pellegrini (1972); De Simone (1979) and (1986); Sgroi (1986) and Agius (1996).
- 5 *Falcandus*, p. 69, ‘*libri consuetudinum quos defetarios appellant*’. See also the boundary register of Monreale 1182, line 212 ‘*has autem predictas divisas a deptariis nostris de saracenicis in latinum transferri, ipsum que saracenicum, secundum quod in eisdem deptariis continetur*’. But occurrences in the Latin are rare relative to the abundant references in Arabic. Cf. also a reference to the *deptarii* of *duane nostre de secretis* in a Latin charter of William II to the monastery of Monte Gibello from 1170, *Documenti inediti*, pp. 124–6.
- 6 Johns and Metcalfe (1999), also see Cusa, p. 30. In this same register, the term ‘*daftar*’ occurs exceptionally in the singular, but in all other subsequent cases it is found in the plural. It is not clear whether the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma’mūr* had

- only a single *daftar* in April 1149 because it is also presumed that the administration must have kept some sort of boundary records prior to this date.
- 7 *Falcandus*, p. 69.
  - 8 Within the Monreale confines, there were a number of internal estates for which there were apparently no definitions; *ḥadd Ġafala* (lato – *magna divisa*) > *divisa chefala* 225/9; *ḥadd Qalʿat Fimī* (lato – *magna divisa*) > *divisis kalatafim* 230/17; *ḥadd Būr Tābir* (al-Duqqī) > *finis apparentes in terra inculta* 239/30; *ḥadd Raḥl al-Kātib Yūsuf* (Raḥl Bū Frīra) > *divisam rahalketab ioseph* 244/37; *ḥadd al-Ġanawī* (Malbīt) > *divisa terre ianuensis* 256/56; *ḥadd Hiġār al-Rāʿī* (Raḥl al-Ġalīz) > *lapidibus pastoris* 284/95; *ḥadd B.r.zū* (Corleone- *magna divisa*) > *divisa perisii* 321–23, 325/148, 149; *ḥadd al-Ḥammām* (Battellaro) > *divise hamem* 352/185; *ḥadd Manzil Sindī* (Battellaro) > *divisis melesendini* 353/186; *ḥadd Qalʿat Mawrū* (Battellaro) > *divisis kalata Mauru* 360/196; *ḥadd Qannaš* (Battellaro) > *divisis camnes* 352/185; *ḥadd al-Qašaba* (Battellaro) > *divisa casbe* 347/178 and *ḥadd al-Z.kūšī* (Battellaro) > *divisas hericusī* 349/181.
  - 9 Johns and Metcalfe (1999) and also Cusa, p. 35. There are many other references to these definition procedures. For example, Cusa, p. 516 (1133) and Cusa, p. 212 (1182).
  - 10 *Pirro*, I p. 384, although the document is a twelfth-century forgery.
  - 11 Thirty-Two Arabic charters relate to areas west of the Salso whereas ten are to the east, see Johns *Royal Dīwān*.
  - 12 Triocalà and Chūrchuro.
  - 13 For the distribution and recipients of Greek archival material, see Vera von Falkenhausen’s article in Loud and Metcalfe (2002).
  - 14 See Enzensberger (1981) pp. 103–38.
  - 15 Cusa, pp. 127–9.
  - 16 For a discussion of the problems this caused for later generations, see Johns and Metcalfe (1999).
  - 17 Cf. Cusa, pp. 516–17 and the debate between Noth (1983) pp. 190–1 and Johns *Royal Dīwān* (forthcoming) over whether the Greek was translated from the Arabic or vice versa shows how indiscernibly close the languages could be.
  - 18 See Adalgisa De Simone (1986) for a pilot study.
  - 19 See Migliorini, (1968) pp. 185–90 and Caracausi (1975a).
  - 20 A poetic example of an accusative singular can be found in the work of the Sicilian Ibn Ḥamdīs where *kafran* appears to have the sense of ‘from village to village’. *BAS* (Arabic version) p. 677, line 43; translation in Amari, p. 245.
  - 21 Rohlfs (1925) pp. 294–6.
  - 22 Cusa, pp. 116, 408, 81 and 319.
  - 23 However, see also Cusa, p. 49 (1190) τὸν βουνὸν βουνὸν (‘hill’), but this definition was most probably copied from an Arabic original.
  - 24 Cusa, p. 405. Translated literally reads ‘the hill hill the same thing’ or perhaps ‘straight up/along the hill’.
  - 25 Cusa, pp. 485 and 653. Cf. also the use in the Otrantino Italo-Greek dialect *īsa īsa sto tīho* ‘right next to the wall’ Caracausi (1990) p. 244.
  - 26 ὁ χέτης χέτης Cusa, p. 388, cf. also pp. 453–4 from 1245. These boundaries do not seem to have been translated from any other language.
  - 27 Cusa, pp. 81–2.
  - 28 That the Arabic was derived from the Greek is also signalled by the loan of *al-qīr* from the honorific Greek title κύρ meaning ‘sir’.
  - 29 White (1938) pp. 248–9 and Cusa, p. 387.
  - 30 ADM S796.
  - 31 White (1938) p. 250.



- 32 In the actual register, the Arabic place names have been transliterated into Latin – often poorly. I have thus preferred to use the Arabic instead of the Latin even in cases where it is not always clear what the Arabic vowels should be, which accounts for the occasionally odd-looking place name where a full-stop has been used in preference to a guess at the missing Arabic vowel. Boundary sections are numbered in the order they appear in the actual document. Thus, the first boundary, Iato, is number 1; Maġnūġa is number 2 and so on.
- 33 A phrase in the Arabic (*'ilā Qal'at Fīmī l-ṭariq al-ṭariq*) has not been translated in the Latin.
- 34 The Arabic is preceded by the word *ra's*, here translated as *caput*.
- 35 The Latin seems mistaken. The Arabic is introduced by *'ilā* ('to') and is a self-contained descriptive phrase.
- 36 Johns and Metcalfe (1999) pp. 226–59.
- 37 *wa-min hunā infaṣal ḥadd Gātū min ḥadd Ġafala wa-ittṣal bi-ḥadd Qurulūn yanzil al-wādī l-wādī 'ilā 'an yantabī 'ilā Haġar al-Zanātī yaġtami' bi-Wādī Ibn Zurra 'ilā Khandaq al-Ġariq 'ilā Raḥl Baḥrī wa-huwa min ḥawz Ġātū wa-min hunā yanfaṣil ḥadd Gātū wa-ittṣal bi-ḥadd Qal'at al-Ṭrazī yabtadī min ġurf Raḥl Baḥrī 'ilā l-k.nīsyā wa-hiya dākhila fī ḥadd Ġātū wa-hiya bi-yad šāḥib Qurulūn.*
- 38 *yatamādī al-wādī l-wādī 'ilā 'an yantabī 'ilā Haġar Zanātī yaġtami' bi-Wādī Bin Zurra 'ilā Khandaq al-Ġariq 'ilā Raḥl al-Ġariq 'ilā Raḥl Baḥrī fī ḥawz Ġātū wa-huwa bi yad ahl Qurulūn wa-yanzil ma' Wādī Sabāya 'ilā an yaġtami' bi-maġrā l-mā al-nāzil min ġarbī al-k.nīsyā wa-l-k.nīsyā fī ḥadd Ġātū.*
- 39 As a short section of both texts are identical, it might even have been the case that a segment of the boundary of one was generated from the written boundary of the other.
- 40 For the full deed see *William I Diplomata* no. 4, p. 13. There are a number of trivial contrasts in style, but not in content, between the Latin translation from 1182 and that of 1258. Both versions were probably based on the 1182 Arabic version, which had itself been copied from an earlier (and now lost) *daftar* version written in Arabic, and which had also served as the source for the 1154 Arabic version.
- 41 *William I Diplomata*, no. 8.
- 42 *'ilā maṭḥana And.rīya wa-al-maṭḥana fī ḥadd Qurulūn.*
- 43 *'wa-l-marḥala fī ḥadd al-Maġāġi yarġi' qiblataṅ ma' al-ġabal al-ġabal 'ilā Wādī Haġar al-Zanātī fa-ġamī' hāda al-ḥadd dākhil ḥadd Gātū*. The Latin (only) adds at the end of the definition that, *'et hec iterum est inter divisas Corilionis'*, perhaps to clarify that it was only the area around the *marḥala* in *al-Maġāġi* that was within the *magna divisa* of Iato. This phrase also appeared in the Latin version of 1282 *'et hec divisa intrat in tenimento Corilionis'*.
- 44 *Al-Ḥadd al-Kabīr* is also mentioned in line 247 *Raḥl al-Māya*, but it is unclear to what this actually refers.
- 45 *'al-ġarbī min-hu min 'Ayn al-H.šā 'ilā Ḥiġār al-Nahl 'ilā a'lā al-ġabal al-laḍī bi-hi marāḥil al-baqar 'ilā 'an yaġtami' bi-l-Ḥadd al-Kabīr*.
- 46 For a discussion of this see Johns and Metcalfe (1999) pp. 226–59.

7 ARABIC INTO LATIN:  
THE MECHANICS OF THE TRANSLATION PROCESS

- 1 This boundary has been reproduced in Paolo Collura's 'Frammenti di platea arabe dell'epoca normanna', *Atti dell'Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti di Palermo*, Serie IV, vol. XXX, 1969–70) Palermo, 1971, pp. 3–7.

- 2 The later translators of this were a Christian, John of Naso and a Jewish doctor called Gaudo of Palermo. While some parts of the document were clearly translated from Greek, the introductory formulae and boundary description look distinctly Arabic and can easily be back-translated as such from the Latin. Neither is the relationship between the three languages evident, nor how the original document would have appeared. I would tentatively suggest that the formulaic opening and the boundary definition were taken from the Arabic, whilst the villein names may have appeared in both Arabic *and* Greek, but with the translator choosing to base his transcription on the Greek rendition of the names. This may account for the need of two translators; one a Greek speaker who came from the north-east of Sicily, the other Jewish whose first language may well have been some type of Arabic.
- 3 For instance, the following confused forms in Latin are known to have transliterated from Greek and appear to have included the Greek definite article as a prefix; *Ospanos*, *ogeros*, *Omosamitos*, *Osururis*, *ocunpulis*, *opauulis*, *ochritis* and possibly *Ochritána*. For the full register, see Johns and Metcalfe, ‘A twelfth-century Latin villein register from Patti in Sicily’ (forthcoming).
- 4 *hii sunt fines eius sive divise, que claudunt ipsum casale et continent totum illud secundum quod est notatum in quaternis finium seu divisiarum. Quaterno*, also a twelfth-century term, may be a translation of *daftar*. Both *quaterno* (modern Italian) and *daftar* (modern Arabic) usually mean ‘exercise book’.
- 5 For a full discussion of this, see Metcalfe (2001) pp. 43–86.
- 6 This clerical procedure was also echoed in the rubric of the Latin, thus: ‘*has aut[em] p[re]dictas diuisas a deptariis n[os]tris de saracenicis in latinu[m] transf[er]ri, ip[su]m q[ue] saracenicu[m], s[e]c[un]d[u]m q[uo]d in eisde[m] deptariis continet[ur], sub latino scribi p[re]cepim[us] [...] p[er] man[us] Alex[andri] n[os]tri notarii scribi fecim[us]*’, (lines 213–4).
- 7 Enzensberger (1971) pp. 63–7.
- 8 Enzensberger (1981–2) pp. 30–31.
- 9 Amari, SMS, III, p. 504 and III, p. 898. A conclusion supported by Enzensberger (1971), p. 64 and repeated in Pellegrini (1972) p. 477.
- 10 ‘hauteur, éminence’. Godefroy (1880–1902) IV, p. 442.
- 11 ‘éminence de terre dans une plaine et terminée par une plain-forme’. Godefroy (1880–1902) IX, p. 758.
- 12 Caracausi (1983a) p. 87. According to Rohlf s (1977), *dirruójitu* = ‘disastro, grande rovina’.
- 13 Cf. the Greek-Arabic boundary definition from 1133 (Cusa, p. 516) in which the Greek has been translated from the Arabic and where we find *το πηγάδιον το λεγόμενον ἔπεν σέλου* and later *τοῦ στενοῦ τοῦ ἑπωνομασομένου τζουνιέν*. ‘The spring called Eben Selou’ and ‘of the straits named Tzounien’.
- 14 It is possible that a certain villein ‘Muhammad, who in Greek is called Bänzül’ and who appeared in an Arabic deed from 1117 was actually called ‘Basil,’ but had his name hypercorrected to Bänzül by the Arabic scribe, see Guillou, *Les actes grecs*, pp. 52–5.
- 15 For a full discussion of this, see Metcalfe (2001). See also Arabic-Latin, Latin-Arabic items in Appendix A.
- 16 Normally, *al-rayḥān* refers to the common sweet basil (*ocimum basilicum*) cf. Lane (1863) p. 1181. However, in the Maghrib it means ‘myrtle’, Dozy (1881) p. 567.
- 17 *kabš* = ‘ram’ Wehr (1980) p. 811.
- 18 *dukkār* = (*caprifīcus*). ‘Figuier sauvage, caprifiguier’ Dozy (1881) p. 487. Attested in Sicilian dialect as *duccara* cf. Pellegrini (1972) pp. 190 and 261 ‘fico

- selvatico, caprifico'. Cf. also the toponyms Ticchiara and La Dochara in Caracausi (1983b) p. 216.
- 19 *dardār* = 'l'orme, mais aussi le frêne', Dozy (1881) p. 432 (*fraxinus ornus*). In the Latin, the translation is always 'ash' not 'elm'. Attested in Sicilian dialect as *dārdanu* cf. Pellegrini (1972) pp. 74, 190, 260.
- 20 *khinzīr* = 'swine, pig, hog' Wehr (1980) p. 263. This strange reference is unlikely to have been the name of a permanent feature of the landscape, although many pig or wild boar toponyms are attested, particularly in eastern Sicily.
- 21 *ġidy* = 'kid, young billy goat' Wehr (1980) p. 115.
- 22 Cusa, p. 81 and Monreale 1182 lines 321/146.
- 23 The register mentions a number of local people who were actively involved in disputes or the establishing of the Monreale boundaries. These included the sheikhs (*veterani*) of Iato (lines 230/17, 251/48, 259/60), Trapani (230/17) and Corleone (256/56); the inhabitants (*abllhomines*) of Iato (235–6/25), Malbīt (256/56–7, 258/59), Corleone (258/59), al-Aqbāt (259/61); the villeins (*riġāllhomines*) of the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma'mūr* (258/59) and a certain *qā'id* Yaḥyā (259/61).
- 24 For a full account, see Johns and Metcalfe (1999) on this confusion in the later Middle Ages in Sicily.
- 25 For a literary account of the Vella case, see Leonardo Sciascia's *Il Consiglio d'Egitto*, 1989, Adelphi Edizioni, Milano.
- 26 See Caracausi (1983b) p. 199, for the attested instances of this term.
- 27 The Arabic noun *daġal*, originally meant 'a thicket', but in Sicily it appears to have signified sloping ground on a flood-plain. Caracausi (1983b) p. 199.
- 28 Line 147 in the Monreale register.
- 29 *κουκουβάγιας* is also mentioned in both Arabic and Greek from a register from 1172, see Cusa, pp. 81–2. For the latter, see Caracausi (1990) p. 252.
- 30 See particularly the seminal works of Caracausi (1983a), Pellegrini (1972) and Agius (1996).
- 31 An idea first articulated by Agius (1996).
- 32 Cusa, pp. 80–3, 83–5 and Collura, *Agrigento*.
- 33 Cusa, p. 82.
- 34 For Sicilian Arabic terms borrowed from ecclesiastical Latin, see B. Rocco, 'I mosaici delle chiese normanne in Sicilia. Sguardo teologico, biblico, liturgico' in *Ho Theologos*, 11–12, p. 128.
- 35 Loans from Old French have been included in the wider class of 'Latin' words.
- 36 Cusa, p. 72 (Greek) and p. 362 (Latin) > modern Italian *ammiraglio*.
- 37 Cusa, p. 616 (Greek) and p. 180 (Latin).
- 38 Cusa, p. 116 (Greek) and p. 181 (Latin).
- 39 Cusa, p. 494 (Greek) and p. 83 (Latin).
- 40 Cusa, p. 516 (Greek) and p. 196 (Latin).
- 41 Cusa, p. 272 (Greek) and p. 180 (Latin).
- 42 Cusa, p. 203 (Greek) and p. 191 (Latin).
- 43 Cusa, p. 18 (Greek) and p. 193 (Latin).
- 44 Cusa, p. 275 (Greek) and p. 195 (Latin).
- 45 Cusa, p. 303 (Greek) and p. 488 (Latin) > *càjitu* 'capopopulo.' Note the Arabic plural *al-qāwāyit* with its exceptional Romance voicing, Cusa, p. 604.
- 46 Cusa, p. 660 (Greek) and p. 181 (Latin).
- 47 Cusa, p. 661 (Greek). Cf. *iri in scirbi scirbi* 'andare per luoghi scoscesi' Caracausi (1983b) pp. 187–9.
- 48 Cusa, p. 505 (Arabic).
- 49 Cusa, p. 488 (Greek), p. 325 (Latin) and p. 36 (Arabic).
- 50 Cusa, p. 84 (Arabic) and Trinchera, p. 184 (Greek).

- 51 Cusa, p. 340 (Greek) and pp. 563 and 39–40 (Arabic).
- 52 Cusa, p. 307 (Greek) and p. 245 (Arabic).
- 53 *Trincherà*, p. 419 in 1251 (Greek) and p. 604 (Arabic).
- 54 Cusa, p. 81 (Arabic) and Guillou, *Les actes grecs*, p. 90 (Greek).
- 55 Cusa, p. 84 and p. 340 (Greek).
- 56 Cusa, p. 600 (Greek) and p. 574 (Arabic).
- 57 Cusa, p. 293 (Greek) and p. 127 (Arabic).
- 58 Trincherà, p. 336 in 1199 (Greek) and Cusa, p. 646 (Arabic).
- 59 Cusa, p. 47 (Arabic) and p. 361 (Greek).
- 60 Cusa, p. 81 (Greek) and p. 82, 576 (Arabic).
- 61 Trincherà, p. 91 (Greek) and Cusa, p. 645 (Arabic).
- 62 Cusa, p. 512 (Greek) and p. 605 (Arabic).
- 63 Cusa, p. 369 (Greek) and p. 81 (Arabic).
- 64 Cusa, p. 533 (Greek) and p. 127 (Arabic).
- 65 Cusa, p. 629 (Greek) and pp. 82 and 605 (Arabic).
- 66 Pellegrini (1972) identifies fifty-five different areas for Arabisms in Late Latin, some of which are tend to be very small. However, a very large number of these categories can be resolved into either administrative or geographical types.

8 ARABIC INTO GREEK:  
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE EVIDENCE

- 1 For example, the apparent use of a present tense prefix /bi-/ cf Cusa, 's reading p. 651 *'laysa la-hu dakhl b.ta'is bi-bi rubbān al-dayr* for *laysa la-hu dakhl yata'is bi-bi al-rubbān al-laḏī fi-hi'*. There are several poor readings in this version of Cusa's which were corrected by Albrecht Noth in *William I Diplomata*, no. 32, p. 87, although this updated version is inexplicably hand-written.
- 2 Amari, SMS, III, p. 897; *'Il significato preso da alcuni vocabuli conferma bensì il plausibile supposto che fosse prevalso in Sicilia l'arabo occidentale o magribino'*.
- 3 Gabrieli (1950) p. 37.
- 4 Blau, (1968) pp. 522–3 against Di Pietro, Robert J. and Selim, George Dimitri (1967) pp. 19–34.
- 5 See Blau, (1965) and Giuffridi, A. and Rocco, B (1976).
- 6 For Ibn Makkī, see the editon of Maṭar, Cairo, 1966. For Rizzitano's article on this same author, see EI<sup>2</sup> vol. III, pp. 1032–5.
- 7 Caracausi (1983b). More recently the same author has produced his indispensable *Lessico Greco della Sicilia e dell'Italia Meridionale (secoli X–XIV)* in 1990 and his *Dizionario Onomastico della Sicilia* in 1993.
- 8 See Pellegrini (1972) *passim*.
- 9 Várvaro (1981) p. 219.
- 10 Versteegh (1984).
- 11 Agius, (1996).
- 12 Clive Holes *Modern Arabic: Structures, Functions and Varieties*, London & New York, 1995, pp. 19–24.
- 13 Versteegh (1997) p. 97.
- 14 It may have been important for tax purposes to list Christians separately as Muslims and Jews are believed to have paid the *ḡizya* and thus were taxed at a premium rate.
- 15 Cusa, pp. 130–4.
- 16 The Arabic clearly states that there was a single Latin list, Cusa, p. 479: *wa-'ahḏartū 'ayḏan ḡarīda maktūba bi-Lāṭīnī'*, 'they also brought a register written in Latin'.

- 17 For both documents, see *PAS*, Cefalù nos. 2 and 20; White (1938) p. 194; Cusa, 479–80 and all lists reproduced, although not directly from the manuscripts, in De Simone (1979) pp. 34–8.
- 18 Also attested as a villein name in Catania, see Cusa, p. 547b and p. 591b. The Greek scribe might also have tentatively guessed that *Babe* (22) came from the Greek surname Πάπα?
- 19 This is most probably a Latinised version of the Arabic name *Maqāṭi*<sup>c</sup> (plural of *Maqṭa*<sup>c</sup> and which survives as the modern surname Mocata). The 1145 scribes seem to have guessed incorrectly at its derivation. Besides which *nomothetis* in Greek means ‘lawgiver’; an unlikely name for a villein and unattested elsewhere in Sicily.
- 20 Cusa, p. 152a/b.
- 21 Cusa, p. 146a.
- 22 *Ḥattāb* means ‘wood-cutter’. The form *ḥabbāt* does not exist, although *ḥubāt* means ‘a disease in which the belly is swollen or inflated from eating the herb called *duraq*’, Lane, II, p. 502.
- 23 Cusa, p. 143 on the top two lines. This has lead Alberto Várvaro, in support of Henri Bresc who makes the same error, to state, ‘*L’osservazione di Bresc riceve conferma da un lato dalla circostanza che alcuni di questi nomi sono probabilmente posteriori alla riconquista normanna, come i ‘raḥāl Ruġġir’ i casale di Ruggero*’. Várvaro (1981) p. 92 after Bresc (1976) p. 189.
- 24 Cusa, p. 257b.
- 25 *I diplomati greci ed arabi di Sicilia* (1868–82).
- 26 Cusa, pp. 275a & 263b.
- 27 Cusa, p. 263a.
- 28 Cusa, p. 276a.
- 29 Cusa, p. 154a.
- 30 e.g. Cusa, 165a.
- 31 e.g. Cusa, 247a.
- 32 e.g. Cusa, 279b.
- 33 e.g. Cusa, 142a.
- 34 The terminations and genders of Greek personal names are -ος, -ις and -ας for men and -α, -η and -ε for women.
- 35 Cusa, p. 3a.
- 36 Cusa, pp. 474a and 476a.
- 37 Cusa, pp. 247b, 252a, 255a, 258b, 260a, 262b, 263b, 267b, 275b and 278b.
- 38 e.g. Cusa, 144b.
- 39 e.g. Cusa, 132a.
- 40 See Borg (1985).
- 41 Reproduced from Borg (1985) p. 165.
- 42 Cusa, pp. 80–5 and Collura, *Agrigento*, p. 123.
- 43 Caracausi (1990a) pp. 251–2.
- 44 According to Nef (1996) p. 141;

Les éléments qui composent le nom arabe rendent possible une analyse sociale poussée si l’on donne une valeur effective aux informations qu’ils fournissent. En effet, les noms de métier permettent, avec les éléments honorifiques, de retracer une hiérarchie sociale qui démontre la vigueur et la diversité interne de ces communautés.

For reservations about both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the data see De Simone (1992b) and Johns (1983), Chapter 5 *passim*.

- 45 The key pilot works in this field e.g. De Simone (1979); Pellegrini (1972); Caracausi (1983b) and Agius (1996), tend to cite examples indiscriminately to illustrate particular linguistic points.

- 46 See Cusa, especially pp. 579–82 and pp. 593–4.
- 47 The differing treatments of the definite article in Greek has been noted by Caracausi (1990b) pp. 10–11. He cites a few examples, but gives little in the way of commentary other than to observe the phenomenon.
- 48 Of the twenty-nine characters in the Arabic alphabet, the ‘sun letters’ are s, š, t, ṭ, ḏ, d, ḏ, z, z, r, l and ṭ. All others are ‘moon letters’.
- 49 Translated from Caracausi (1986), pp. 17–18. He repeats this assertion almost verbatim in (1983b) p. 50, n. 67.
- 50 For a summary of some Middle Arabic features in Sicilian documents as well as an introduction to a few of the issues that surround this type of Arabic, reference can be made to the chapter on ‘Siculo-Middle Arabic’ and pp. 401–3 in Agius (1996).
- 51 Cusa, pp. 146b (twice), 173b and 152a respectively. All were recorded in 1178. To judge from the Greek (and later from the Latin) representation of the Arabic *kasra* /-i/ with the Greek letter *alpha* or the Latin letter ‘a’, the Sicilian Arabic may have been pronounced emphatically (with *tafkhīm*) as *khanzārī* as opposed to *khinzārī*.
- 52 For Sicilian dialect terms, see Pellegrini (1972) pp. 57 and 198; and Caracausi (1990) p. 616. For toponyms and surnames of this type, see Caracausi (1993) pp. 283 and 679.
- 53 To which one might also note the tradition on Malta, Sicily and Spain in apologising when mentioning a pig. Thus; *scusa lu porcu/ skuži hanzir/ el porco con perdón*, reported in Hull (1993) p. 215, n. 50.
- 54 Cusa, pp. 169b, cf. also *Bū Furnū* p. 172a.
- 55 Cusa, p. 173b in 1178.
- 56 Cusa, pp. 273a and 275b in 1178 & p. 578b in 1145.
- 57 Cusa, p. 127. See also Caracausi (1990) p. 564 for numerous occasions when attested similarly in Greek.
- 58 See Cusa, pp. 573–4 for this term attested in 1145 and pp. 263 and 284 in 1183. For the modern Sicilian, see also Caracausi (1993) p. 389.
- 59 Very commonly attested in Greek (see Caracausi (1990) p. 350), but also in Arabic. See Cusa, p. 163b in 1178. For the toponym see Caracausi (1993) p. 913.
- 60 References given are to pages in Cusa’s *diplomi*, followed by the date when first attested: *al-karrāmī* ‘vine-grower’ (261a, 1183); *al-kāmīlārī* ‘camel-herder’ (648, 1213); *al-rahḥālī* ‘traveller’ (2b, 1095); *al-kawākabī* ‘astrologer?’ (279a, 1183); *al-qaṣṣāṭī* or *al-qassāṭī* ‘cassata-maker’ (136b, 144a, 145b & 162a/b in 1178); *al-qaṭṭānī* ‘cotton-grower’ (566a, 1145); *al-baqqārī* ‘cow herder’ (2a, 1095); *al-labbādī* ‘felt-maker’ (165b, 1178); *al-ḡammānī* ‘gardener’ (250b, 1183); *al-ballūṭī* ‘acorn-collector’ (250b, 1178); *al-ma‘azī* ‘goat-herder’ (547b/591b, 1095/1145); *al-ḡarādiqiyya* ‘a type of bread-maker?’ (268a, 1183); *al-zawārikī* ‘pipe-player’ (575b, 1145); *al-zammārī* ‘pipe-player’ (156b & 158a twice, 1178); *al-rummānī* ‘pomegranate-grower’ (280b, 1183); *al-barādīnī* ‘saddle-maker’ (155b, 1178); *al-summāqī* ‘sumac-seed grower’ (140b, 1178); *al-kanūdī* ‘ungrateful?’ (276b, 1183); *al-qawālibī*, ?, (280b, 1183); *al-tābūnī*, ‘baker?’, (262a, 1183); *al-ḥarāyizī*, ‘shepherd?’, (174a, 1178); *al-qassāsī*, ‘slanderer’, (566a, 1145); *al-muktārī*, ‘tenant, farmer’, (140a, 1178); *al-ṭawmī*, ‘garlic-seller’, (132b, 1151).
- 61 Caracausi (1983b) pp. 82, 182–4, 248–9 and 354. Nb. also *azarerī*, *bardarius*, *cubaydarius*, *cunctunarius*, *doaneri*, *fundacarius*, *maragmerius*, *nadararu*, *saccarius*, *senarius*, *sfigarius*, *siclarius*, *suprazimbilarius*, *zambatarius*, and *zuccararius*. Most are first attested in the thirteenth century.
- 62 Caracausi (1983b) p. 82 and *passim*; *admiracia*, *bardaria*, *cangemia*, *chanzaria*, *chasanīa*, *gaycia*, *alcaydia*, *nadaria*, *regracia*, *saccaria*, *sichoria*, *cuctoneria* and *mabumeria*.

- 63 Caracausi (1983b) p. 82 and *passim*; *arrassari*, *incabellare*, *dohanare*, *fundicare*, *galibare*, *mazarari*, *nadarare*, *risicari*, *seniare*, *xiruppare*, *taliari*, *xakkari* and *azottari*.
- 64 In support of this, see Caracausi (1983b) pp. 78–9 and (1993) p. 272.
- 65 See this chapter *passim* and Caracausi (1983b) p. 249 for later renditions.
- 66 Caracausi (1993) pp. 269, 272, 419, 664 and 678.
- 67 In the Aci villein register (Cusa, pp. 586–95) this form occurs twelve times; in the Cefalù register (Cusa, pp. 472–80) ten times, and in the Catania register (Cusa, pp. 563–85) twenty-five times. For similar instances in other villein registers, see also Cusa, pp. 128a, 131a, 131b (twice) and 132b.
- 68 Cusa, p. 577b in 1145.
- 69 Cusa, pp. 249 (twice), 262 (twice), 263, 268, 273, 275, 276 (twice), and 285 (twice). NB all these were written by the same scribe in the villein register of Monreale 1183.
- 70 Cusa, p. 575 (twice).
- 71 Cusa, p. 581b.
- 72 Cusa, p. 576a.
- 73 Cusa, p. 282b.
- 74 Cusa, p. 565b.
- 75 Trincherà, p. 356. See also, Caracausi (1983b) p. 298. The tendency towards nasalization may have been so powerful that it may even affected cases of a geminated *zay* (/zz/). This might explain the form ζαγγ[άροη]ς (where *γγ* > /ŋk/) from the Arabic *ġazzār* ‘butcher’, see Cusa, p. 247a. Alternatively, in this case, orthographic error cannot be ruled out.
- 76 Lines 257 and 58 in the manuscript.
- 77 Caracausi (1993) p. 272.
- 78 Attested in 1408, see *Bibliotheca Scriptorum qui res in Sicilia gestas sub Aragonum imperio retulere*, ed. R. Gregorius, Palermo, 1791–2, II, p. 496. See also Caracausi (1983b) p. 135.
- 79 G. L. Barberi *Beneficia ecclesiastica*, ed. I. Peri, 1962–3, p. 398 and Caracausi (1983b) p. 169.
- 80 In the Monreale register of boundaries, lines 273, 289 and 327 (n.b Cusa reads ‘*al-Inḥāša*’). *Inḡāša* is also attested as a Maġribī form (Dozy I, p. 10). The Maġribī (but non-Sicilian) geographer, al-Idrīsī, used the standard form, *iġġāša*, see al-Idrīsī in *BAS* (Arabic version), p. 71; translation in Amari, p. 32.

#### 9 FROM ARAB-MUSLIM TO LATIN-CHRISTIAN: A MODEL FOR CHANGE?

- 1 In fact, Greek-based dialects in southern Italy only died out in the twentieth century, having been used continually for over 2,500 years. As a measure of their conservative and durable nature, ancient Doric elements have even been identified in the later Greek dialects of the wider area. See the theory of Gerhard Rohlfs, first expounded in the *Scavi linguistici nella Magna Graecia*, Halle-Roma. 1933.
- 2 See Vera von Falkenhausen’s article ‘The Greek presence in Norman Sicily: the contribution of archival material in Greek’ in Loud and Metcalfe (2002), for a summary of these arguments in English.
- 3 For a general account of Lucera, see P. Egidi, ‘*La colonia saracena di Lucera a la sua distruzione*’ in *Archivio Storico per le Provincie Napoletane*, xxxiv, (1911) pp. 597–694; xxxvii, (1912) pp. 71–89, 664–96; xxxviii, (1913) pp. 115–44, 681–707; xxxix, (1914) pp. 132–71, 697–766. See also Abulafia (1994) pp. 213–26, for the effects of what he calls the Sicilian Muslim ‘*intifada*’.

NOTES TO P. 186

- 4 D'Angelo (1975) pp. 149–53.
- 5 For the text and translation of al-Himyārī, see Rizzitano (1956) pp. 129–82 (Arabic text) and pp. 9–18 (Italian translation); more generally and for Entella, see also Maurici (1987); Johns (1993) pp. 61–97; Lévi-Provençal (1954) pp. 283–8 and Gabrieli (1979).
- 6 Bresc (1986) pp. 594–602 and Johns (1992) pp. 407–20.
- 7 Amari, *Le Epigrafi* (1971) pp. 242–6.
- 8 Cusa, pp. 80–5 and Collura, *Agrigento*, p. 123.
- 9 Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona, Cancillería, Pergaminos, Alfonso II, 280, no. 280. For a brief discussion, see Bresc (1983) pp. 255–7.



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